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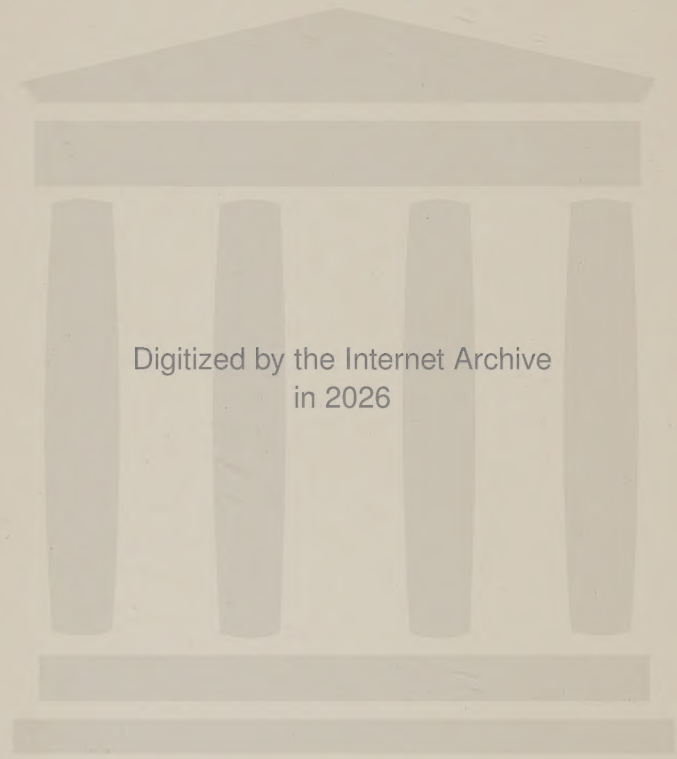
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JAPAN FROM WITHIN

An Inquiry into the Political, Industrial, Commercial, Financial, Agricultural, Armamental and Educational Conditions of Modern Japan

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PREFACE

EVERY new book on Japan claims to compensate for the deficiencies of its numerous predecessors by solving the mystery of why Japan is so much misunderstood. And still the mystery remains. After sixteen years in Japan, studying the people, their institutions and civilization, from every point of view at close range, my only solution of the mystery is to deny its existence. It is undoubtedly true that Japan is very much misunderstood, but the cause can be ascribed to nothing more mysterious than mere ignorance of Japan. If we take the same trouble to know all about Japan that would be necessary in the case of any other nation, Japan is quite as easily understood.

The European War came as a bolt from the blue, because the respective belligerent nations were culpably ignorant of each other's ideals and conditions. If European nations know only too little of one another, how much less must they know of Japan, and the peoples of Asia generally! And Asia represents the larger portion of mankind. This volume is a modest attempt at supplying in some measure that knowledge which is so essential to the world's peace.

In bringing to the notice of the English-speaking people a plain and authoritative statement of the development, condition and resources of present-day Japan, the author can acknowledge only in a general way the extent of his indebtedness to the many Japanese gentlemen who have collaborated with him in collecting information from original sources: especially to the officials of the various departments of State on Tokyo, and to the distinguished Japanese

statesmen, scholars and financiers whose contributions to the pages of the *Japan Magazine* enabled him during his editorship to make Japan more accurately and widely known. Where so many have been so courteous and helpful it might seem invidious to single out any for mention by name.

And if specific authorities are deprived of the usual footnotes and references to which they are entitled in a volume like this, the author's only excuse is the loss of his entire library and notes in the great earthquake. A useful bibliography will be found at the end of the volume.

J. INGRAM BRYAN.

CAMBRIDGE,
October 1924.

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JAPAN FROM WITHIN

CHAPTER I

JAPAN AND ASIA

JAPAN is the most modern and progressive of the Asiatic nations, and, in her own opinion at least, the greatest of them, looking forward with an exalted ambition to the day when she will become the leader of Asia's millions. A nation that expects to lead the nine hundred million people of Asia, and, moreover, has some prospect of being able to realize that ambition, must be a very important nation from every point of view.

1. Significance of Ideals

The destinies of nations lie in the character of their leaders. Character is determined by ideals. What is the dominating ideal of Japan, and how far is it in harmony with that of Asia as a whole? There could be no greater menace to civilization than the possibility of the larger portion of mankind becoming dominated by pagan ideals. The future of Japan, no less than the future of Asia, depends on how far an altruistic ideal will be adopted and prevail.

It is a fashion of the present to impugn ideals and regard idealism as "sloppy sentimentalism," but time can never change the fact that the crop always depends on the seed. The ideals of paganism are as real and as effective as those of Christianity. Nor can the ideals of these two

systems of thought be in any sense identified or reconciled. They stand for principles eternally diverse. The only question is as to which system is best calculated to promote the common interests of humanity.

This is neither the time nor the place to discuss whether the ideals of Japan are more pagan than those of Europe. It is sufficient to affirm that the character and the future of nations, as well as of the world, are dependent on the nature of the ideals now in process of realization.

Before the outbreak of the European conflict the ideals of the war-lords of Germany, as evinced in the writings of men like von Bernhardi, von Treitschke and Nietzsche were frankly pagan. The world has seen the murderous decimation of humanity and civilization which attempts at realization of such ideals have perpetrated. "By their fruits ye shall know them." In spite of such disastrous results, exponents of pagan ideals still not only survive but thrive.

If the European cataclysm was not a fancy but a fact, not a mere nightmare but a horrible reality, it is well to be assured that the cause of it was no less real and no less horrible than the effect. Though the war has, at least temporarily, ceased, the ideals that engendered it still go on poisoning the well-springs of civilization. It is surely the duty of sane humanity to be intelligently aware of this fact, and to be ready to recognize where the peril lies, and avert it. If the teaching of history and experience is that all war is caused by paganism, and that paganism always causes war, any nation, or coterie within a nation, that stands for such principles becomes a subject of world-significance.

What, it will be asked, has this to do with Japan, and how does it contribute to the purpose of this book in presenting a survey of the modern development of Japan? Much in every way, not only in relation to Japan, but in relation to the Occident in its dealings with Japan.

2. Reason versus Ignorance

It is obvious that the hope of the world for peace lies in elimination of the ideals that cause war. The ideals that eventually result in war are always an inimical element in the social, political, industrial or commercial life of nations before they logically end in bloodshed. The virus of inhumane competition cannot be removed by military force, nor by international contract, but only by enlightenment and general education. It is mostly ignorance that is the mother of conflict. It is difficult to like those we do not know. In the older civilizations the stranger was always the enemy. Paganism is a wrong spirit that thrives upon ignorance. And nothing can more conduce to a better knowledge of the moral and material potentiality of Asia than a first-hand study of the evolution and resources of Japan.

But we cannot afford to contemplate the material might of Japan without asking the character of the ideals that are to determine the use of it. If pagan principles, gaining control of the war-lords of Europe, can so overwhelm governments as to set even Christian peoples at one another's throats in the bloodiest of conflicts, what is to happen should the nine hundred million people of Asia come under the inspiration and control of such ideas, fully equipped with a modern education and modern scientific instruments of war? The prevention of such an eventuality, as well as the recurrence of the recent European outrage on humanity, depends on education, on the diffusion of knowledge and good-will; and good-will depends on knowledge.

Science, we know, is characterless and neutral. Whether it be used for constructive or destructive purposes depends altogether on the ideals of those who utilize it. Without having first made sure of the worthiness of its own ideals, it may seem somewhat impertinent for Europe to inquire into the ideals of Asia. But evasion of so vital a factor

in determining the relations of East and West is fatal to world-peace. In Asia will centre very largely the problem of human destiny for some time to come. At the heart of this problem is Japan, the prospective leader of the brown and yellow races.

3. Japan's Position

Japan is potentially already the leader of Asia. Her voice is louder, more far-reaching, insistent and effective than that of any other Asiatic nation. And it is a voice more in harmony with that of Asia than that of any occidental Power in Asia. This fact was freely admitted when Japan took her seat as an equal at the Peace Conference of Versailles, at the Supreme Council of the League of Nations and especially at the Washington Conference of 1921, where Japan spoke in the name of Asia, and entered into an agreement with England and America guaranteeing peace on the Pacific for the ensuing ten years. The very fact that such an agreement was considered necessary is in itself sufficient to prove the importance of Japan in relation to world-peace.

4. Rapid Rise to Power and Competition

A country of some seventy-seven millions of people, including Korea, with an Imperial dynasty extending back beyond that of any reigning house in Europe, a defensive equipment and *personnel* second to none, Japan to-day commands greater political, military and economic power than the rest of Asia together. In the international deliberations of the future, Japan must not only maintain her present prestige, but take an even more important place, and so continue to be reckoned with as a vital factor in world-politics. Never again will she be ignored as an arbiter in the destiny of nations.

What Japan is already in international affairs, she is

fast coming to be also in commercial and industrial competition. Even now Western nations are finding Japan the most serious trade rival in Asia. Japan can import in her own bottoms some of the most important of staple raw materials, manufacture them and export them to the countries of origin and undersell producers of the same goods in these countries. This rapidly ascending empire stands at the very focus of the new industrial and political ambitions of the world, which now centre in the Pacific. The spirit and resources of Japan are now paramount factors in the new world-order. If, as has often been said, England stands or falls in relation to the coloured races that comprise the majority of her subjects, it is essential that she should know all about the most important of the independent Asiatic empires. As an attempt to appraise the material significance of Japan, especially in its bearing on the future of Western nations, this book, based on long first-hand study, is sent forth.

Seventy years ago the doors of Japan were locked and barred against the entrance of the Western world. After a hundred years of intercourse with Europe, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1542–1638), Japan expelled the European, exterminated the Church after the martyrdom of over 200,000 members, and isolated herself from foreign nations for over 200 years.

After this long seclusion, during which the West advanced to modern civilization, the portals of Japan were effectually opened by Commodore Perry in 1853–4. At that time Japan was no more than a geographical name in the European mind, known only as an archipelago on the confines of China. Without adequate defensive forces, without a modern government, Japan was helpless before Western intrusion ; she had to accept all that was imposed, and to bide her time ; yet within fifty years she had codified her laws, instituted a modern judiciary, eliminated extra-territoriality, revised the foreign treaties in her own favour,

secured national autonomy, defeated China, Russia and Germany, and taken her seat among her aggressors as an equal in the supreme councils of the world.

5. Secret of Japan's Progress

What is the secret of so remarkable an achievement? It detracts in no way from Japan's magnificent valour, initiative and intelligence to venture the opinion that the country could not have attained its present distinction in so many ways without the sympathy and practical aid of the English-speaking peoples. From the first England and America were the friends of Japan, as indeed they are still. This is not to say that they have singled out Japan from the rest of Asia for special favours. But for these friends the Asiatic nations would in all probability by this time have been divided up among the Powers, as Africa is to-day. No one familiar with the inner history of international rivalry in the Far East during the last half-century will be disposed to dispute the truth of this statement. When Russia, France and Germany conspired to oust Japan from the rewards of her victory over China in 1895, driving Japan out of Port Arthur only to have Russia take her place, Japan was helpless in their hands. The situation aroused the interest of the English-speaking world, created profound sympathy for Japan, and led to the Anglo-Japanese Agreement and finally the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which maintained peace in the Far East for more than twenty years. What would have happened had not England and America stood on either side of the portals of the Far East, signalling 'hands off Japan,' is obviously beyond the province of this work to discuss.

6. Asiatic Unrest

And yet the people of Asia do not appear to understand how very much they are indebted to the altruistic policy of

the Anglo-Saxon peoples. To them occidental aggression has compromised purity of motive and obscured our most disinterested aims. A great part of Asia to-day is a mass of seething unrest and growing animosity against the white races.

The thought of Asia is of vital importance to world-peace, and yet how few Occidentals know, or even care, what Asia thinks ? Even many Occidentals resident in the very heart of Asia are so intent on other matters as to be oblivious to the underlying thought of the civilization about them. To the Asiatic mind the white man is an intruder if not a usurper on that continent. These millions of brown and yellow men, in effect, say that from the dawn of human civilization down to the fall of the Roman Empire the whole world was ruled by the brown and the yellow man, for Asia regards the Roman as not only of its colour but of its kin. Only in comparatively recent years has the white man begun to gain the ascendancy. But it cannot be within the will of the gods that 900,000,000 brown and yellow men shall come under the domination of 200,000,000 white men. If the majority insist on self-determination, the brown and yellow man will come to his own again some day and resume rule of the world.

But for centuries Asia's nightmare has been a sore realization of hopeless absence of leadership, to counteract occidental intrusion. In all the far-flung lines of advancement Western nations led the way, and Asia could only remain to them as a hewer of wood and drawer of water. India was a congeries of conflicting tribes and religions until forcibly unified by Britain ; and China remained, as she still does, hard in the grip of her occidental creditors, while Japan was obliged to follow them in order to retain her freedom. The only nation that showed any possibility of leadership in Asia was England because of her presence in India and Hongkong, while America in the Philippines

was but a second voice to England's ; and Asia does not desire to be led by any white race.

In the midst of this racial hopelessness a great thing suddenly happened. On May 27, 1905, Japan defeated Russia. It was the first time that a brown and yellow race had defeated what was then thought to be one of the greatest of the white races, more than twice as big as Japan in population. From that moment a thrill of hope shot through the heart of Asia's millions, a hope that has gone on gathering strength ever since, until to-day all Asia is convulsed with a spirit of self-determination and autonomy. In this struggle to get out of the grip of the white races Asia regards Japan as the more than potential leader.

7. Mutual Suspicion

It is true that the 327,000,000 of India and the 400,000,000 of China do not yet quite trust Japan ; for one oriental nation never seems wholly to trust another, due perhaps to the habit of doing to your neighbour what you think he would do to you. But any time something may happen to allay distrust and precipitate unity for mutual protection. Should Asia's countless multitudes once become convinced, through the mistakes of Western aggressors, or the persuasion of Japan, or both, that occidental policy was mere material exploitation, rather than the uplift and redemption of Asia, they might be driven in sheer self-defence to align themselves under the leadership of some capable oriental Power, than which none is more suitable or probable than Japan. This has been a dominant trend of thought in the vernacular press of Japan for many years, until the nation by this time must believe it ; and echoes of sympathy from time to time are heard from China and India. Japan is certainly quite convinced of her capacity to act as the medium between East and West ; and why not ?

Nor does the present world-situation preclude such an eventuality in Asia, and at no distant date. Not only is there this growing and insistent suspicion of Western nations, but there is the obvious incapacity of Western nations either to understand Asia or to deal with the situation; which only goes to increase the distrust. There must be something seriously defective in our diplomatic officialdom if it cannot do more than it is doing to disarm suspicion in Asia. Japan may be said to know more of occidental civilization than any other Asiatic country; and if Japan finds our diplomacy suspicious, what will the rest of Asia think of it? The question whether, in their diplomacy, the executives of occidental governments really represent their several nations, especially in relation to Asia, to say nothing of Europe, is one imperatively demanding an answer. Is it, or is it not a fact that in all the leading occidental countries the people are morally and internationally ahead of their governments? Having lived and travelled widely in England, Canada and the United States, and knowing the feeling of these people toward Asia, I believe that if Asia knew and understood the convictions of the West, sincere friendship would soon displace suspicion. How is it then that our representatives in Asia have failed to convey to the Asiatic mind what the West thinks and intends to do?

The failure may appear more pardonable if one thinks of the difficulty England finds in making herself understood in Europe or even in Ireland. Indeed, our experience in relation to making ourselves properly understood among our neighbours should prove a wholesome warning not to be too sure as to the wisdom of our methods in dealing with India, China and Japan. If we do not understand the Celt, it is quite certain that we understand the Oriental less. If an overbearing temper sometimes appears in our officialdom at home, it is likely to be still more common abroad, as our nationals are often prone to testify. Officials

responsible for our relations with oriental countries should be most carefully selected and trained. The inexperience of a merely insular mind is fatal in oriental diplomacy; it is scarcely less dangerous at home. To the Anglo-Saxon what is right is right, and there is nothing more to be said. He forgets that his notion of what is right is the result of education and environment, and that what may seem right, and even imperative, to an Englishman or an American, may not appear so at all to an Asiatic.

8. Evil of Compromise

This is not to say that the West, in dealing with the East, should do evil that good may come. With Asia indignant at the white races, something should be done to abate the indignation, but this requires no more than to make clear our policy and purpose in Asia. This has to be done in deeds as well as in words. Deference to the religion of the sword does no more to lessen Mohammedan suspicion in India than it does in Turkey, for everybody knows that no country that respects Christian principles can approve of the principles of Mohammedan civilization, and Asia believes that all such compromise on the part of Western representatives is mere hypocrisy. Japan speaks for Asia when she avows her appreciation of sincerity. A firm stand for humane principles, fair play and equality of treatment will do more to create faith in Western nations than anything else. The policy of the English-speaking nations towards Asia, as towards all men, is that of the Golden Rule. If our representatives in Asia have failed to act upon this policy they have lamentably failed to justify our confidence in them. But the habit of putting on green spectacles in order to make sure of seeing green fields may be too ingrained in our diplomacy to allow it to take suggestions for improvement with the equanimity essential to

a cure. Yet Asia's interpretation of history is based on the attitude of occidental officialdom in Asia.

9. Occidental Policy

The older generation in Japan seemed more ready to admit the nation's indebtedness to the good-will of the English-speaking peoples than the present generation. This is seen in expression of the conviction that the victory of the Allies in the recent war implies a still greater ascendancy of the white races, to the disadvantage of other colours. This mistake must arise either out of a misunderstanding of our history and civilization or a change in our diplomatic methods. Neither Great Britain nor the United States has ever shown any positive prejudice against Japan as inimical to their interests. This is clear from their whole-hearted support of Japan through all the stages that have brought her to the position of a first-class Power. Had these Powers lacked confidence in Japan they could, during the last fifty years, have very seriously checked her ambitions and interests in the Far East as well as in international affairs. Why has our policy not done more to disarm suspicion in modern Japan? Before the war Japan was occasionally suspected of playing off Russia and Germany against the tightness of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and to that extent revealing mistrust of the Anglo-Saxon nations; but now Russia and Germany are scarcely available in this rôle, and young Japan at times evinces irritation at being wholly in the hands of what some would call the Anglo-Saxon coalition. But if Japan could trust the English-speaking nations not to take undue advantage of her when she was weak, why should there be room for suspicion now that Japan is strong? If they so warmly helped Japan through the trying and anxious years of her novitiate in the comity of nations, she may well trust them for the future. Nothing short of Japan's adopting a

policy of Prussian *Kultur* could undermine Anglo-Saxon friendship for Japan.

10. Great Britain of Asia

Among the younger generation of Japan one frequently hears expression of an ambition to make Japan the Great Britain of Asia : to be to Asia what England has been to Europe. That is an ideal with which no Englishman can find fault. But can Japan hope to consummate this ideal without some of England's education and experience ? Japan has problems of internal government, social and industrial amelioration, as well as problems in relation to China and the world, that will occupy her best minds for some time to come. If Japan continues to command the sympathy of the leading nations that can do most to help her, and maintains her present policy of modernization, the future for her is bright with hope.

At the same time it is the duty of the West to do everything possible to remove all ground for suspicion on the part of Japan and her neighbours. It is only fair play that we should try to view the situation from an oriental point of view. It is true that Occidental aggression in Asia has been intensive, and Asia regards it as for purposes of material gain. No doubt a good many English-speaking people now comfortably residing in India, China and Japan, or retired on a competence at home, could not have done so were they not able to make more money abroad than at home. But this fact does not necessarily imply the enrichment of the West at the expense of the East. There is always a mutual exchange of values in service, else such relation would cease. There are hundreds of English-speaking people living in India, China and Japan for purely moral and spiritual purposes. Whether the relations of the Anglo-Saxon nations with Asia have always been inspired by a policy of mutual help and uplift is a question

that may be answered according to one's point of view. No nation can afford to look too minutely into its past. Provided the present motive and policy are right, the future should be secure.

II. A Further Menace

But there is a more disturbing factor still that mars relations with Asia, and which does more to create distrust than all other grievances combined. Asia charges the West with a spirit of racial discrimination. British dominions overseas have raised an impassable barrier against immigration of Asiatics. The United States pursues a similar policy. And over this, all Asia is angry. We are said to send our missionaries to Asia preaching the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, teaching justice and humanity, and even reading from the Bible that God has "made of one blood all nations for to dwell on the face of the earth." And yet the people of Asia are ostracized from so-called Christian countries as a menace to Western civilization. This is taken as but one more proof of occidental hypocrisy.

It is quite true that the English-speaking nations cannot welcome unlimited immigration from Asia. This is not due to race or colour, but to moral and economic reasons. It is the conviction of the West that the way to meet the East on even terms is not to bring down Western standards of labour and wages to those of the East, but to have the East rise to the level of the West. Otherwise the West would be seriously handicapped in the race for progress. As it is diversity of ideals that creates diversity of wages and needs, can the East ever meet the demand of the West as to terms of association? It is difficult to see how the East can rise to Western standards, except by assimilation with Western civilization.

At all events it is a question too vitally related to the

peace of mankind to be left where it is at present. It is fraught with as dangerous possibilities as the problem that created the European War; and yet the English-speaking nations are as blissfully indifferent to it as they were to conditions in Europe before the war. Some day we shall be compelled to hear the voice of Asia. It is a great thing to win a war, but a much greater thing to prevent it. Relations with Asia will test our character and capacity as peacemakers for some considerable time. We are faced with one of the most baffling problems in history; and the most fatal thing we can be guilty of is to ignore or evade it. The agreement for a ten-year peace on the Pacific is a mere temporary expedient to hold the surging passions of an angry continent in leash. But it does nothing to settle the question at issue; and when the leash snaps, what is to be the result? The forces of suppressed race-spirit and oppressed colour are everywhere fermenting towards self-determination. The only solution of the problem lies in both sides resolving to pursue the principle of the Golden Rule. Warnings in the press and on public platforms against the so-called "yellow peril" are of no avail; and still less international contracts and the creation of defensive bases on the Pacific. Such convulsive efforts are not only futile, but in bad taste. Co-operation in a truly Christian sense is essential to fulfilment of the duty which mankind has entrusted to East and West.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNMENT

ACCORDING to Japanese history, as interpreted by native authority, the empire has maintained perfect independence since its foundation more than 2,500 years ago ; and the present Emperor, Yoshihito, is the one hundred and twenty-second sovereign in unbroken succession to the Throne since its establishment. It must be remembered, however, that competent scholars cannot carry the authentic annals of Japan back further than about half-way over this period, since no reliance can be placed on any date prior to the fifth century A.D. Archæological discoveries and other considerations, however, form a substantial basis for belief in the great antiquity of the empire, so that national tradition was not due wholly to mythological inference, though glimpses of Japanese history, obtained through contemporary Korean and Chinese records, more authentic than those of early Yamato, disclose, not an ordered and peaceful state of society at the dawn of empire, but numerous segregated clans at strife and practically illiterate and barbarous, the southern migrations from the Asiatic continent finally prevailing over the northern and ultimately attaining the sovereignty, under Jimmu Tenno, some time not long before the Christian era.

1. Japan a Theocracy

The first emperor, Jimmu, was a direct descendant of the gods who created Japan, and composed the rest of the world

out of what was left over. This ruler was a divine person, as have been all his successors ever since. According to the Japanese system of government the Emperor is the centre and head of the organization of the empire. The distinction between ruler and subject is vital and permanent. The sovereign is sacrosanct, infallible and inviolable, and obedience to him and his government is implicit. To him is due the same worship and obedience as to his ancestors, the gods of the nation, who formed the heavens and the earth. That the Emperor rules by virtue of his divine descent in unbroken succession from the Creator is the foundation of Japanese government and national polity. And this proposition is maintained notwithstanding that in Japanese history emperors are represented as being seized, murdered or banished and left to die in exile. But perhaps in its basis and practice no faith is found wholly consistent. Generally speaking, faith in the sanctity and infallibility of the sovereign has been honoured by the Japanese: obedience to him has been, and is, absolute, as to an incarnate god, representing on earth the divine ancestors.

The Emperor of Japan rules, not in his own individual right, but as the incarnate representative of the imperial ancestors. These ancestors are worshipped and obeyed, not because they are the ancestors of the reigning sovereign, but because they are the rulers and the ancestors of the Japanese people. This is why the Japanese regard themselves as the most truly democratic people in the world; for the Emperor is father, the nation his family, and the ruler is, therefore, the incarnation of the race. To some minds such a system may look like mere self-worship, as all democracy must in some measure prove to be; and when one looks at a Shinto altar, the only visible object of devotion is a mirror which reflects the divinest image the suppliant can see; all of which tends to confirm the assumption as to Shinto being the essence of self-worship.

But the whole thing, in its working out, is very human.

Man naturally turns with awe and reverence to his Creator, whose Being, by the logic of reason and religion, must extend back to the original father of mankind. In Japan there has been no dead space between the original father and the children of to-day. Just as the Hebrew theory of religion made God a Jew and all Jews his chosen people, so the Japanese theory makes the Creator a Japanese, and all Japanese his family, of whom the Emperor is head; since in Japan there can be no family without a head, and the family is the unit of society. Whether such a theory has any scientific or historical basis is not the question: the fact that the millions of Japan believe and act on this faith makes it true to them for all practical purposes.

2. The Divine Ruler

It is, of course, very difficult for the occidental mind to appreciate fully the sanctity and significance of this unique relation between the Japanese people and the Imperial House. Without sufficient grasp of it, nevertheless, no one can understand Japan. It is doubtless the most intimate relation possible for a human mind to conceive. The Japanese are a people ready to die for points of honour so delicate and minute that the Occident has no lens of sufficient power to reveal them. To say that the Japanese believe in the divine right of the ruler is to put their theory of religion and government only in the mildest form. Charles I of England suffered for insisting on the divine right of kings, but what would have happened had he claimed to be God incarnate?

To convey clearly to the modern mind any adequate conception of the place occupied by the Emperor of Japan in the hearts of his subjects, and the degree of reverential awe with which he continues to be invested even in these days of doubt and materialism, is a task that can hardly be attempted in words. The most convincing proof of faith is

conduct. One has to live in the midst of this mystic loyalty and breathe its esoteric atmosphere for years, to realize what it means. Think what it means to the sovereign himself to realize that he is not only the vicegerent of the ancestral gods, but is himself a god by virtue of his descent : a god who rules, guides, guards and keeps his people with unbounded compassion and infallible wisdom, a task possible only to one who has inherited it, as well as the attributes of omnipotent and benevolent ancestors in heaven. Certainly there is no other potentate on earth that receives such veneration and service as the ruler of Japan.

It is this faith that renders acceptance of Western ideas of religion so difficult in Japan. The Emperor is the nation's actual heavenly father, present in the flesh to share his people's joys and sorrows, and to whose sympathy and support all achievement is due. Such a view of deity comes as a shock, if it does not seem wholly preposterous, to the pious-minded yet more rationalizing Occidental. But to the Japanese the ruler is more of a heavenly father than Jehovah is to the Jew or to any Western mind. He does for his people as much as the gods of other lands do for theirs.

3. The Priest-king in History

History shows that nations pass through four stages in their evolution before they can be sure of survival, the last being the crucial stage. Each of these stages may be regarded as a revolution. At first the ruler is priest as well as king. Then comes the delegation of the ruler's power to an executive, leaving the king only religious authority. This usually takes place early in the evolution of nations, but in Japan it did not begin until the rise of the shogunate, and was not complete until a little over half a century ago. Next comes the breaking up of the clans and the abolition

of feudalism, with realization of respect for freedom. This began in Japan with the reconstruction of society in 1871. A third revolution is experienced when the religious and military aristocracy gives way before democracy, the dominance of the commercial and industrial classes. This began in Japan some twenty years ago, and is still in process. The final revolution, in which capital and labour attempt an adjustment of mutual rights and duties, now under way in the West, has scarcely yet begun in Japan, though it is in obvious preparation.

It will at once be seen that the results of the revolutions common to the evolution of nations have been less effective and in other ways different in Japan, as compared with the development of Western nations. There the power of the priest-king persists to a degree not known in other lands. To realize what this means in matters of ceremony, to say nothing of its influence in practical politics, one would have to fancy the King of Great Britain taking the place of the Archbishop of Canterbury and celebrating the sacred mysteries at the altar as the high-priest of the nation on all great State occasions, as does the Emperor of Japan before the altar of the Imperial shrine.

In ancient times the emperors of Japan, as descendants of the ancestral gods, themselves administered the affairs of State, and displayed their prowess on the field of battle, as did the mediæval rulers of Europe, a privilege now only open to the rulers of republics. As time went on and government became more highly organized and complex, the divine ruler of Japan exercised power more and more through his executive. This afforded temptations to political and military egotism that great families proved unable to resist. From the seventh to the tenth century the power of the executive was practically in the hands of the Fujiwara family, the emperors scarcely more than puppets, always obliged to choose the Imperial consorts from the dominant family. Sanctity of precedent and

conservatism in Japan is seen in the fact that the Empresses of Japan have been almost invariably selected from the same family. The next empress will be one of the few exceptions. With the increasing effeminacy of the Fujiwara despotism, power passed to the great military families in the eleventh century, the Minamoto family finally exterminating the Taira and establishing the shogunate which continued down to 1868. But though the Fujiwara and the military dictators and the shoguns usurped Imperial prerogatives, they never claimed any authority save as direct representatives of the Emperor. The time arrived, however, when the shogunate, having proved itself incompetent to deal with intruding foreign nations, was abolished, and the nation returned to the rule of the divine sovereign, known in Japanese history as the Imperial Restoration. The shogunate was to the Japanese theocracy very much what the Papacy was to the Church in England of mediæval times; and the Imperial Restoration was to Japan what the Reformation was to England, a reversion to direct relations with the source of authority.

4. Compiling the Constitution

With the restoration of direct relations between sovereign and people after the fall of the shogunate in 1868, an Imperial Constitution was granted, not creating any new principle or policy, but stating and defining the divine principles that originally regulated relations between ruler and ruled. Moreover, since Japan had formally entered the comity of nations, it was essential that a modern system of government should be established. The Imperial Restoration having been safely and effectively accomplished, the Emperor made his first approach to his people with the edict promising a constitution, with a fully organised legislature to enforce it, after the manner of Western nations. The edict of 1881 announced that the first parliament

would meet in 1890, giving the country a decade to prepare for so great a change in national administration. Before setting about his task of compiling the national Constitution, with which the Emperor had entrusted him, Ito, later Prince Ito, was sent to Europe to study the political institutions of the world; and he selected, as a model for Japan, the constitution of Prussia, with some reference to that of Bavaria, as best calculated to crystallize all power in the ruler and his executive. When the Constitution was promulgated the people were supposed to have got what they wanted, though some affirmed that the people had been left out. But in that case they were left just where they had always been, and so had no grounds for complaint, seeing they had not asked for a change. In any case the Constitution was a gracious gift from the Emperor, and the nation could not but accept it in the spirit in which it was offered. Its main effect was simply to confirm the traditionary power of the sovereign and his representatives, already inherent in every Japanese mind.

Those who were prone to criticize Ito for the terms of the Constitution, and his less ambiguous and prolix commentary on it, had to remember that no constitution that really represented Japan could have been different. It is Japan's habit to boast that *Yamato Damashii* is unchangeable and eternal: it can be lived, stated, explained, but not improved. The task of the Imperial Constitution was to state what always had been and always would be; and this it effectively did. As the national history was affirmed to afford no instance of imperial tyranny or oppression of the people, no safeguards were necessary on that side, and so the portion of the Constitution relating to the Imperial House was framed on a basis of great elasticity, while all that referred to the rights and duties of the people was embodied in coded laws. Unlike the constitutions of other countries, that of Japan is a divine covenant, not the result of coercion, nor yet accorded as a right, but simply

as a gift of grace and a divine blessing, from the Emperor, much the same as the covenant God made with Israel through Moses and the Law. While the Constitution did not change the prerogative of the ruler, but rather strengthened it, there is no doubt that it defined more specifically the rights and duties of the people, formally conferring on them rights of honour, life, liberty, property and freedom of religion. The Emperor exercises his administrative power through the two estates of the realm, the Peers and Commoners, both of which houses must ever bow to the Imperial will, however much among themselves they may be given to division and disputation.

5. How far Government is Constitutional

If the Imperial Constitution of Japan seems to the Western mind in some measure an anachronism, it is well to remember that a nation under feudal régime till comparatively recent times could not be expected to modernize its political institutions all at once. Reputation for such an achievement is easier to gain than to live up to. Nations cannot be remade by official fiat. If Japan's constitution is modern in form, it is only natural that it should be feudal in spirit and practice. The shogun resigned in 1867, and the 270 feudal lords later on followed his example and yielded up their respective fiefs to the Emperor because they supposed that a modern government had been formed. The principal change, however, consisted only in the clans of Tosa, Hizen, Satsuma and Choshu, long suppressed by the rigid exclusiveness and autocracy of the Tokoguawa family, now displacing their oppressors, and finally all power became concentrated in the hands of Satsuma and Choshu, as it is down to the present. The change did not mean, and could not mean, that representative government was any more actual, or even possible, than under the old régime.

And so, even to-day, after more than thirty years of legislation, the Japanese parliament that represents 57,000,000 of people, is elected by less than 3,000,000 voters, themselves by no means a representative class. There is, indeed, no other modern state, except, perhaps, Russia, where the people have less control, both in theory and practice, over taxation and the distribution of revenue. It is difficult for constitutional government to make much progress in Japan so long as such government means the downfall of the clan system. The main policy of the clans is to retain power while nominally yielding it to the people. The bureaucrats recognize a popular will, but they alone are competent to interpret that will. The interests of clans and their social, political and economic connexions, dominate Japanese politics; and this will continue until the rise of great national leaders representing the masses. Poverty of leadership is a weakness of all countries, so that in this Japan is not singular, but only suffers more from it, since wise and efficient leadership is more imperative in a country without much modern political experience. One of Japan's greatest thinkers, the late Dr. Hiroyuki Kato, declared that "public opinion is not necessarily a wise or a correct opinion, and that it could not be otherwise so long as there are not more than sixty or seventy men of distinguished ability in the whole of Japan." Under these circumstances it is but natural to conclude that a constitution that did not give full power to clan interests would not be acceptable to Japan. The Constitution places the Throne at the head of the Executive and Legislative functions of the State, with power of absolute veto. The Throne can legislate without parliament, and has complete control over all civil and military officials.

6. The Imperial Diet

The Imperial Diet consists of two chambers, the House of Peers and the House of Commons. The Diet meets

once a year for ninety days, but may be convened any time for special business. The House is usually opened by His Majesty, the Emperor, in person on December 25, when a speech is read from the Throne. Both houses may initiate legislation, or petition the Throne, but the annual Budget must be introduced by the Lower House. Every act of the Diet is subject to Imperial veto, and its measures to non-promulgation, if expediency so decides. In this way legislation is often enacted apparently for the purpose of the credit of having it on the statute books without suffering the inconvenience of putting it into practice. In theory the legislature controls all national finance and expenditure, but in practice it does not, because disbursement is based on the sovereign power of the Throne. If a Diet so far fails in sympathy with the cabinet as to refuse to pass the Budget, that of the previous year automatically comes into force. Thus, under the Constitution, the Throne and the Executive possess all the power, and the people none. Lest the Lower House should at any time show a disposition to get out of hand, there is the House of Peers to "check the evil tendencies of irresponsible discussion," as Prince Ito said.

The Emperor, though supreme, is believed to take no personal share in the government. But the tendency of officialdom, when forcing an unpopular measure, to shield itself behind the skirts of the Throne, has become a feature of recent years, which is greatly deprecated in Japan. Ordinarily the operation of government is in the hands of the Cabinet, which must consult with the Privy Council in case of doubt, and the Privy Council again must consult with the *Genro*, or Elder Statesmen, in matters fundamental to the interests of the empire. As the Privy Council acts in the capacity of adviser to the Cabinet, so the *Genro* is supposed to serve the sovereign personally. The *Genro* consists of retired statesmen of mature experience who have weathered the difficulties and solved the problems of the past,

and who stand next to the Throne, though the position is wholly unofficial. The *Genro* really represent the clans of Satsuma and Choshu, the former showing its influence in all matters pertaining to the navy, and the latter mainly in the army. All the higher officials of the government are in alliance, by historic relation and patronage or by position, or even by marriage, to keep the government of the nation a close corporation.

The *Genro* is a unique institution and peculiar to Japan. As a body it appeared after a few years of modern government, when the veterans who created modern Japan began to retire, and the late Emperor Meiji desired to retain them as valuable advisers. Men like Prince Sanjo, Prince Iwakura, Prince Matsukata, Kido, Okubo, Inouye, Saionji, Yamagata, Okuma, Kiyoura had much to do, not only with making the new Japan, but with determining its destiny in modern times. Of the great names mentioned only Prince Saionji and Viscount Kiyoura survive. The power of the *Genro* has been dwindling with their numbers through death. As things now look, new members may not be added, and the institution may disappear. This may be a questionable advantage to Japan, because, although the Elder Statesmen seemed an anachronism in modern government, and were jealous of clan interests as against those of the common people, opponents of representative government and savouring of narrow nationalism, they nevertheless were a strong conservative force that controlled in a wholesome way the militarists and the new aristocracy of wealth created by commerce ; which future cabinets may not always be able to do.

The House of Peers is composed of the nobles : which include princes of the Blood, princes by Imperial creation, and peers in hereditary right, or by elevation to that rank by the Emperor, as well as counts, viscounts and barons who have been elected to the Upper House by their respective orders. The Emperor permits new peers to be selected

from among the highest taxpayers of the nation, one from each province, a less objectionable purchase of rank than contributions to the party purse. The term for elected members of the House of Peers is seven years, and the House has a membership of some four hundred.

The House of Commons is elected by some 2,800,000 voters who have attained the franchise out of a total population of 57,000,000. The right to vote for candidates nominated by constituencies for membership in the Imperial Diet is possessed by males of the age of twenty-five years who have paid a national tax of not less than 3 *yen* (about 7 shillings) in the current year. That less than 3,000,000 out of a total male population of 30,000,000 are able to qualify for the franchise, on even this slender basis, indicates in some degree the general poverty of the people. Incorporated cities of not less than 30,000 people form independent electoral districts, entitled to one member each; but when the population is over 100,000 the number of members increases, one for every 130,000 inhabitants. The rural constituencies also send one member for every 130,000 in population. Election to the national legislature takes place every four years, and the vote is by secret ballot. The members of the Lower House are mainly farmers, bankers, barristers, journalists and a few of independent means, comprising a total membership of 464. Whether the fact that the government of the day seldom loses an election indicates some degree of political corruption must be left to individual opinion. The use of *soshi*[1] to intimidate political rivals has been a custom of long standing in Japan, and resort to it still is frequently reported in the vernacular press. At present there is an increasing degree of dissatisfaction over the question of franchise, the demand being for universal manhood suffrage. During the session of the Imperial Diet, when the annual franchise discussion is going on, noisy processions crowd

[1] *Soshi* are hired ruffians sent to intimidate an opponent.

the streets, ending with a demonstration before the parliament buildings, when sometimes bombs are thrown at the gates, and the capacity of the police to control the crowd is severely tested. Votes for women is not a live question in Japan, though it is on the way.

7. Political Parties

The party system in Japanese politics has been of somewhat slow development, and party names have little significance, the main difference between one party and another being, not in their platforms, but in the fact that one is in office and the others not. As members of the Diet receive a salary of £200 a year, a considerable income to the average citizen of the country, it is of no small advantage to get into parliament; but that is nothing to what one may do by commanding influence after election to parliament. It is also of immense importance to the clans whether the party in power represent Satsuma or Choshu, for it must always stand for the one or the other.

Some thirty years ago party strife was more intense than it is to-day; for then there was a strong liberal section in national politics, led by the late Count Itagaki who through years of struggle barely escaped assassination. With his retirement the liberal cause fell upon evil days. It was the late Prince Ito that started the idea of the party system in order to make Japan look modern, but mainly to play off one party against another in clan interest; and the system was enthusiastically taken up by those who saw in it a means of preventing the Bureaucracy retaining full control of national affairs. But in recent years the party system has weakened by playing into the hands of the Executive, which is, like the House of the Peers, supposed to be independent of party politics, but which in later times has always in some degree represented a party.

There is no Conservative, Liberal, Labour or Socialist party in Japanese politics. The present political parties are the *Seiyukai*, or Constitutionalists, which had been dominant for some years until the election of May, 1924, when the *Kenseikai* came into office. The *Kenseikai*, or Progressives, led by Viscount Takaaki Kato, is a party supposed to be militarist in sympathy, and responsible for the notorious twenty-one demands on China; the *Seiyuhonto*, or True Constitutionalists, is a new party split off from the *Seiyukai*. Then comes the *Kokuminto*, or Nationalist party, now changed to the *Kakushin Club*, which, though weak in numbers, has exercised a great influence through its veteran leader, Mr. Inukai; the *Jitsugyo Doshikai* is another new party; and, last, there is the Independent party which represents but a small section of the nation's political forces, but which is, nevertheless, actually more representative of the masses, who do not really believe in party politics, affirming that such a system diverts patriotism in the direction of party and toward individual rather than toward national interests. In the present Lower House of Japan the above parties are represented as follows:

Kenseikai	155
Seiyuhonto	119
Seiyukai	101
Kakushin Club	29
Jitsugyo Doshikai	8
Independents	52
	464

8. Local Self-government

Local self-government has made great progress in modern Japan, though it is not wholly free from political party interest and the influence of the central government at

Tokyo. The country is divided into forty-six prefectures containing 636 *kun*, or counties. For each prefecture there is a governor selected by the national government, and he usually represents the political party in the ascendant for the time. The prefectural government is under the direction of two bodies, known as the Assembly and the Council, both elected by those entitled to the franchise in the national elections, the term being four years. The various counties comprising the prefectures have similar bodies similarly appointed, the chairman of the councils receiving appointment from the Tokyo authorities. It will thus be seen that the heads of prefectural governments and county councils are all selected by the national government, and are changed or dismissed at will by the same authority.

Municipalities have independent local government, like prefectures, and towns and villages have councils like counties. The cities have mayors who preside over the aldermen and councils, and the towns and villages have their headmen who preside over the councils; which officials are locally nominated but the nomination must be confirmed by the central government. In all Japan there are at present 57 cities, 1,400 towns and 11,000 villages. General conditions in the towns and cities of Japan would require a more extended description than is here possible, but the subject would prove very interesting and instructive to occidental readers from a comparative point of view. Only in the larger cities and towns has modernization gone on to any appreciable extent. In Tokyo, Yokohama, Kobe, Osaka and a few other larger centres of population pavement of streets has begun, but will take long to be completed; nor is any attempt at modern sewage systems much more advanced. The local governments enforce regulations with regard to the erection of buildings and matters of sanitation, but conditions in this respect are comparatively backward. As Japan is a land of earthquakes, experiencing

an average of 1,460 shocks annually, the unprecedented disaster in Tokyo and Yokohama, leading to such appalling destruction of life and property, mainly by fire, must surely prove to the nation the necessity for wider and more modern streets, as well as a greater extension of quake-proof building in steel and concrete or stone.

CHAPTER III

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

THE progress of Japanese industry forms one of the romances of modern enterprise. At the beginning of the Meiji era, in 1868, there was in the country but one infant factory in the modern sense ; and the only articles of domestic industry and commerce were woven goods, earthenware, copperware and lacquer. Industry was wholly manual, and satisfied if it met the demands of the local community. During the more than half a century since then the progress of native enterprise has been nothing short of phenomenal. Even as late as 1872 all industry was still domestic, carried on by families in individual households. But by 1883 as many as 84 factories had appeared, with machinery aggregating 1,382 h.p. in steam and 365 h.p. in water. Ten years later the number of factories had grown to 1,163, the steam h.p. totalling 31,165, and the water h.p. 4,122. By the year 1909, a period of rapid industrial and commercial expansion, all the factories of Japan, including those in homes, numbered 33,000 with a total h.p. in steam, water and electricity amounting to 419,657. As far back as 1872 there were no imports of raw materials for manufacture. In 1895 the imports of raw materials were valued at more than 40,000,000 yen ; and in 1910 the imports of raw cotton alone exceeded 158,000,000 yen in value. During the European War there was naturally an enormous expansion of industry and trade, with a corresponding increase in factories, but with the slump that followed the cessation of war many factories went out of operation. Omitting Government

undertakings and insignificant domestic industries, the number of legitimate factories is now about 21,000, representing 23,000 engines or motors, with 1,163,000 h.p., and some 1,300,000 employees, of which about 800,000 are women, some of them under fourteen years of age.

1. Industry in Old Japan

Prior to the opening of Japan to the modern world there was no system of technical education. Industry, as far as it existed, was local, not national, the various *daimyo* keeping their hereditary craftsmen and mechanics who transferred their knowledge to apprentices from one generation to another. These craftsmen or artisans made utensils, arms, cloth or objects of art for the livelihood offered by their masters, and were usually held in contempt by their military superiors. Nevertheless, many of them developed remarkable skill in handicraft as well as in fine art, and showed an intuitive love of beauty and achievement, leaving behind them names that are still worthily and highly honoured in the annals of art and industry.

The arrival of Portuguese and Spanish merchants and missionaries in the sixteenth century, with manufactures fresh from Europe, lent some measure of impetus to promotion of new industries in Japan, to say nothing of the influence on science and civilization; but owing to the barren rigidity of feudalism and the crippling suspicion of foreign nations, no great progress was made until after the fall of the shogunate in 1868, when the establishment of modern schools began the work of technical education in chemistry, physics, engineering, mining and metallurgy. Having finished the courses afforded at home, many Japanese students were sent abroad to acquire the rudiments of a more modern system of industry. To a policy of putting all the knowledge that can be acquired abroad to practical application at home the Japanese Government has devoted untiring attention, with the result that Japan is at present

able to supply all her more pressing domestic needs, and make almost everything as well as it can be made elsewhere. Mechanical engineering, cotton and silk spinning and weaving, shipbuilding, cement manufacture, glass, matches, chemicals, gas works, electric development, brickmaking, none of these large and profitable undertakings could have attained their present development had it not been for official assistance. Indeed the Government itself started many of the present national industries, which, after reaching a paying basis, were handed over to private enterprise. The only ones still remaining in official hands are the Government woollen mills, the Iwata Steel Works, the tobacco factories, the Government Printing Works and the Imperial Mint.

It is important to note that in the new Japan enterprise and industry are almost wholly utilitarian, in contrast to old Japan, where the æsthetic element was always prominent if not uppermost. Japan is richer to-day in money, and material interests generally, but poorer in art and the enjoyment of life. So long as Japan was content to be noted for the creation of a high and distinctive quality of art, the nation had no difficulty in holding its own against the generally cruder æsthetic productions of the West. But Japan can hardly hope to increase her fame, or even retain it, by attempting to compete with the West in shipbuilding and shoemaking. Japan is doing, however, what seems to her of greater importance: turning out goods that can undersell all rivals in the limitless markets of the Far East. In the course of her rise as an industrial nation, bent on successfully meeting occidental competition, Japan discovered that the profits from her minor arts and crafts, for which she was so justly celebrated, could not support an army and navy adequate to national defence and to maintain her position as the leading Power of Eastern Asia. Only by manufacturing staple commodities on a large scale at cheap prices could Japan expect to become,

and remain, a first-class power. Consequently the antiquated industrial system of old Japan has been almost completely transformed after the occidental manner. While the result is a deterioration of native arts and crafts, it means a wonderful expansion of modern industry.

2. Division and Character of Industry

Broadly speaking, Japanese industry is divided into factory operations conducted according to the occidental system, though at much less cost and efficiency; and numerous domestic industries long indigenous to the country, carried on in the homes of the people. The factories simply aim at supplying the manufactures formerly imported from abroad, or those demanded by the markets of Eastern Asia. China is Japan's greatest market for cottons, and America for silk and tea. One reason why, in certain lines of industry, efficiency is so difficult to attain, is because the operatives are engaged in making what they do not know the use of, and in which thay can take no intelligent interest. It stands to reason that the artisan cannot do so well on materials or objects he has not seen in use, as he can on articles with which he is familiar in life about him. Not only is the output of manufactures not uniform in quality, but it is irregular in quantity. Lack of uniform quality is usually due to the fact that a small factory accepts an order for more than it can turn out in the time specified, and so some of the order has to be sublet to still smaller establishments, none of which are likely to manufacture exactly the same quality. Over factories and their output the Government has to exercise careful supervision in the matter of goods for export, in order to save the country's reputation and retain markets; but in spite of such attention the results are still not always satisfactory to the foreign consumer. The silk industry is especially in a transition stage from manual weaving to machine goods; but most of the spinning in both cotton

and silk is now done on modern machines. Native cloth in both cotton and silk is woven only 1 foot wide in pieces of 30 feet or so, while the fabrics for export have to be about a yard wide. This difference between home and foreign requirements is only one example of what puzzles the worker. The most rapid expansion of industry in recent years has been in cotton spinning and weaving, as well as in chemical industries. The making of machinery has not made such rapid progress, but parts are made in increasing quantities.

3. Operatives

Something has already been said as to the inefficiency of the oriental as contrasted with the occidental factory operative. This is due mostly to the absence of any great number of skilled artisans in Japanese industry. Another feature in which the Eastern and Western systems appear in striking contrast is in the predominance of female operatives in Japan. With so rapid an expansion of industry the lack of skilled labour is not to be wondered at. Even in Government arsenals, steel mills and shipyards, where skilled labour is at its best, all work is more or less characterized by inefficiency, especially in quantity of output, which is much less, man for man, than is the case with the occidental artisan. Female operatives, on the other hand, are usually more deft in factory work than the women of Western countries; which contributes materially to the success of many important Japanese industries, like cotton, tea and silk. In silk-reeling women do 90 per cent of the work; in cigarette-making, network, cord-making, they do 80 per cent; while in drawn work, mat-making and straw-plaiting they do 70 per cent. Over 60 per cent of the cotton-mill hands are women; and a similar percentage of females obtains in such industries as paper-making, meat-packing and tinning and fruit-canning. Thus Japanese industry is seen still to be largely in the hands of women, who form,

moreover, the majority of the labourers, in contrast with Western industry which is much more largely a man's job.

4. Cotton Industry

No department of Japanese enterprise has made more phenomenal progress than that of cotton. The first cotton mill appeared in 1862. By 1889 no less than 215,000 spindles were registered, and in 1900 these had arisen to over 1,000,000, the mills centring chiefly in Osaka. The present number of spindles is well over 3,500,000, in 170 mills owned by 41 companies investing each a capital of over 1,000,000 yen. The annual value of woven fabric is ten times above what it was ten years ago. Of the 600,000,000 yards annually produced, about one-third is exported. The secret of this progress lies in the demand for cotton not only in Japan, but throughout Eastern Asia, where it is the chief clothing. The particulars of Japan's progress in the cotton industry must be taken as in some degree indicating her general industrial advance in recent years, because it was largely on account of her success in cotton manufactures that Japan was emboldened to launch out in so many other lines. Japan is not in any important sense a cotton-growing country, since she harvests no more than some 10,000 bales a year, and that a short fibre like Chinese cotton, used only for inferior fabric. In Korea, however, more serious efforts are being made to cultivate a superior grade of raw cotton from American seed, but production is not yet of marketable quantity. Japan gets 60 per cent of her raw cotton from India, 25 per cent from America, 8 per cent from China and 2 per cent from Egypt, of an annual value of some 300,000,000 yen.

Owing to the demand for coarser counts the raw cottons are mixed, especially for the hand looms. But the Japanese are turning more and more to finer qualities, and, by combing, are producing yarns up to 60's on ring frames, though, of course, most of the work is still confined to thick

numbers. The average seems to be growing finer, for the annual consumption of bales per thousand spindles is decreasing, though still much higher than in India and England. Japanese mills suffer from inability to produce uniformity in size of filament, more especially in mills employing unskilled operatives and over-worked machinery under unhygienic conditions. In yarn Japan's annual output for some time has been about 2,000,000 bundles, of which more than half is consumed at home, the rest going mostly to China.

Cotton weaving is of a somewhat later development than spinning in Japanese industry, but it is now almost as important, since at least 30 out of the 41 companies produce fabric. In 1910 the cotton looms in operation numbered only 17,000; by 1916 they had increased to 30,000, and the present number in operation is well over 45,000, which, of course, is yet small compared with the 800,000 of Lancashire. So far, in yarns, it has been possible for Japan to compete mainly in the markets demanding coarser goods, and her rivals in this line are oriental rather than occidental. Even the finer goods that Japan is sending to India are inferior to those produced in Lancashire, which they would fain emulate.

The most significant feature of the present situation is that Japan is able to meet the domestic demand for cotton yarns and cotton piece goods. The nation's main cotton imports in recent years have been satins, italians, umbrella cloths, cotton velvets, victoria lawns and others similarly difficult to make at home; while her exports are chiefly coarser qualities like jeans, T-cloths, shirtings, sheetings and flannelette of low grade, going for the most part to India, China, Australia and the South Seas.

5. Silk

Japan's natural advantage in having a climate favourable both to the mulberry tree and the silk-worm marks her out

as one of the great silk-producing countries of the world; while her long experience in sericulture and silk spinning and weaving, together with an unusual degree of native deftness in the industry, leave her without serious rivals in this line of enterprise. Having pursued this industry for over 1,400 years, Japan has made it her largest and most important undertaking. Japan is the largest exporter of raw silk in the world. By raw silk is meant the fibre unwound from the cocoons and reeled into hanks. While the Japanese are experts in reeling, they have made slow progress in thrown silk; consequently most of the export is raw silk. Spun silk, in contrast with thrown silk, is made from silk waste, much as yarn is from wool, and this spun silk is exported to weavers in America and Europe. In waste silk Japan turns out about 20,000,000 pounds annually, the greater part going abroad. China is Japan's only serious rival in waste silk, producing about 18,000,000 pounds a year. Silk weaving, however, is one of Japan's most artistic specialties, the annual value of output in silk piece goods amounting to over 200,000,000 yen. Of these the most important item is the beautiful and delicate fabric known as *habutæ*, a thin undyed material in great demand by occidental women. Among the still more lovely silk productions of Japan are silk brocade and tapestry, in the making of which the Japanese are unrivalled. More than a million persons, mostly women, are occupied in the silk industry. There is also a large output of silk-cotton goods, used chiefly at home for clothing, the annual value being about 50,000,000 yen.

6. Woollens

The woollen industry, unlike silk, is not indigenous to Japan; and, therefore, the quality and quantity are not yet equal to successful competition in foreign markets. The first woollen mills were started by the Government in 1877 to make army cloth, and various other kinds of cloth were attempted; but even with this start, wool would

have remained more or less of an exotic, were it not for conversion into *mousseline-de-laine*, a light fabric which the Japanese have now made a distinct specialty and incorporated into their national dress. The manufacture of this wool-muslin is at present the main woollen industry, apart from the production of cloth for army and navy, with also a considerable output of serges and thin piece-goods. The annual production of wool-muslin is about 50,000,000 yards valued at some 20,000,000 yen, by far the larger part being consumed at home. In recent years the use of Western clothing for men has greatly increased, especially in banks, business offices and among Government officials; so that the local woollen mills have now begun to make union worsted suitings, but the best suitings used in Japan still come from British mills. During the European War there was a great increase in the demand for woollen cloth in Japan, the demand subsequently declining. Before the war Japanese looms were dependent mostly on Germany, England and Australia for woollen tops; but when supplies were cut off by the war, they began installing more machine combs, and are now better able to handle raw wool, most of which comes from Australia and South Africa. Wool-raising to any great extent is impracticable in Japan for want of sheep pasturage, the native bamboo grass being fatal to sheep, though the Government is trying to obviate the difficulty by promoting sheep ranches where European grass seed is sown. But for many years to come Japan must continue to look abroad for her wool supplies. There is always in Japan a big demand for woollen blankets and rugs. Other weaving industries are in hemp and jute, supplying the usual materials, especially sackcloth, canvas and a thin material for summer wear, as well as netting of all kinds.

7. Ceramics and Porcelain

The making of ceramic and all kinds of porcelain has been a specialty of Japan for many centuries, and this ware is still

among the most artistic productions of the country. The art originally came from China and Korea, the first potters settling at Arita where some of the most delicate china is still made. Seto and Kutani wares are also universally admired. Nagoya and Gifu have recently been making most of the gaudy ware so greatly in demand abroad. The old-fashioned wood-baking process is still used for the best porcelain, though modern methods have been introduced for the production of hurried cheap work. Printing, for hand-painting, is cheapening the art of porcelain decoration, though beautiful specimens of hand-painted work, as well as matchless, pieces of faience, can still be had. Porcelain forms the bulk of Japan's production, but faience, stone-china and terra-cotta are finding increased output. In addition to the usual table and kitchen ware, fancy pieces and toys, attention is now being given to the production of sanitary and scientific appliances, as well as medical and other apparatus, in this ware. Enamel-ware, as well as bricks and tiles, also has an increasing production.

8. Lacquer

On account of its high excellence of form, design, colour and execution Japanese lacquer holds an important place among the art industries of the nation. The industry has recently suffered from excess of output and decrease of exports, the latter due chiefly to use of cheap Chinese lacquer and imperfect preparation of the wood, which is fatal when the goods reach a drier climate. Papier-mâché imitations from Germany and elsewhere have come into competition abroad where taste is not sufficiently developed to recognize the difference. About two-thirds of the lacquer juice used in Japan comes from China; and, being obtained from wild trees, and crudely refined, it is always inferior to Japanese lacquer. There are some thirty kinds of plain, metallic and coloured lacquers, each with a different name and slightly differing in appearance,

but gold, red, brown and plain are the most popular. The beautiful deep red of the Luchu lacquer is inimitable. Lacquer is also coming into use for the finishing of cars and carriages, as well as for the coating of ship-bottoms. The annual output of lacquer is valued at some 13,000,000 yen, of which about 1,000,000 yen is exported.

9. Brewing and Distilling

The making of saké, shōyu (soy) and beer now represents big investment and good dividends in Japan. Wine making is still in its infancy, and whisky has hardly begun, except perhaps the famous, or infamous, Osaka Scotch. Cheap spirits from prohibition countries at present render domestic competition almost impossible. Saké, the native wine, distilled from rice, and shōyu, used as a sauce on food, have been native industries for centuries, and for which certain districts have long been famous both as to quality and quantity of output. The annual production of saké alone is valued at some 200,000,000 yen, yielding the State about 1,000,000 yen in tax. The export of saké, which is not large, goes chiefly to Japanese settlements abroad. Of shōyu the annual production is about 100,000,000 gallons, which has to pay a tax of some 5,000,000 yen. The brewing of beer, started in 1871 by German experts, has made phenomenal progress in recent years, under native supervision. The barley is grown from imported seed, mostly in Hokkaido. The annual production of the five breweries is valued at some 400,000,000 yen. Beer is of excellent quality and finds increasing consumption in Japan, as the breweries have public beer-halls and saloons in so many places ; and there is a large export of the beverage to countries on the Pacific.

10. Miscellaneous Industries

Japan's *chemical industry*, long in a desultory condition, received a tremendous impetus during the war, especially

in coal-tar, alkaline and electro-chemical enterprise, as well as to some extent in metal refining, particularly zinc. The manufacture of saltpetre with nitrogen from the air by electrical process, of phosphorus in large quantities, of chlorate of potash, glycerine from fish oil, commercial oxygen, sulphate of ammonia and carbide, now bids fair to meet domestic requirements. Practically all kinds of drugs, chemicals and serums are made in Japan, with exports to Asiatic countries. The Government is providing free laboratories for technical training of chemical experts, and wealthy public-spirited citizens are promoting the policy.

Machine-making has been a slow industry in Japan, owing to lack of skilled labour, rendering importation cheaper than manufacture; and, though this is changing, the heavier machines are still imported, especially a certain proportion of the locomotives and engines, and most of the turbines, electric generators and heavy railway machines, as well as weaving, spinning and printing machines. Japanese machine shops are confined mainly to turning out small machine tools, boilers, lathes, railway carriages and trucks, cranes, electric and telephone apparatus. Many establishments import bicycles and motor cars in parts and assemble them in their own names. The demand for steel in Japan is about 2,000,000 tons a year, of which the home foundries can supply no more than one-half. The war gave enormous impetus to the machine industry, the annual value of output jumping from 100,000,000 yen in 1916 to over 300,000,000 yen at the end of the war. Imports of all kinds of machinery still total 111,000,000 yen in value. Exports, which include clocks and watches, scientific instruments, organs and ships' parts, are valued at 150,000,000 yen a year.

Matches, which took the place of the old flint and steel in 1875, have now an annual export value of 50,000,000 yen, destinations being chiefly China, India, the South Seas

and the United States. *Paper-making* is another important industry, chiefly from pulp obtained in Hokkaido or Saghalien or imported from Scandinavia, the annual production being some 500,000,000 pounds valued at 40,000,000 yen. A good deal of the finer kinds of business paper is still imported, however. The matchless fibre of the native Japanese paper made from native wood is well known, and this quality finds much exportation. *Soap* is now made in Japan in enormous quantities, of which the annual output is valued at 20,000,000 yen, and annual exports to the amount of some 4,000,000 yen, mostly to China. Lever Brothers of England have now joined in this enterprise on Japanese soil. *Celluloid* manufacture began in 1908 and the annual production has now reached a value of 7,000,000 yen. The manufacture of artificial *fertilizers* occupies an important place in the national economy. For centuries the land was manured with ordure from the towns and cities, and this is still practised almost universally; but, besides fish manure, artificial manure is now used, made from chemicals and otherwise, with a total annual value of some 60,000,000 yen. *Fish oil*, taken from the herring, sardine and whale, is a big industry, as the oil is in much demand for cookery purposes abroad, the Japanese themselves always using vegetable oil for such purposes. The manufacture of all kinds of *glass* is now a well-established enterprise in Japan, of which the yearly output is valued at 28,000,000 yen, with exports to China and India. The making of *shell-buttons* is also a profitable business with an annual value of 10,000,000 yen, exports going almost everywhere. All sorts of *watches and clocks* are turned out, to the value of more than 1,000,000 yen a year. Since the introduction of electricity so universally, the *gas* industry has suffered, but is still going on. *Electrical enterprise* is advancing rapidly, used, as the current is, for lighting and motive power almost everywhere. Owing to the almost limitless facilities for hydro-electric operation and produc-

tion, the current is cheap. *Sugar* is another thriving industry, production coming mainly from the cane-fields of Formosa, though some is grown in Japan proper. Japanese *flour mills* produce about 20,000,000 sacks a year, but there is a large importation from Canada, the United States and Australia. The manufacture of *rubber tyres*, peppermint, vegetable wax, vegetable oil, vegetable indigo, braids of straw, hemp and chip, figured and fancy matting, leather, furs, hosiery, tinned foods, isinglass, umbrellas, toys, brushes of all kinds, may be regarded as important in Japanese industry.

The above is but a rapid and superficial survey of the enormous industrial enterprise under way in Japan ; but it is sufficient to fulfil the purpose of this book in showing Japan's potentiality for expansion in industry. On this depends the realization of Japan's hope to find employment for her population at home rather than to undertake the unpleasanter task of finding a vent for emigration abroad. Other big industries of a somewhat different nature, such as mining, shipbuilding, agriculture and fisheries, will be found treated separately in this volume.

CHAPTER IV

COMMERCE AND TRADE

THE story of Japan's abnormal trade development, and her appearance as a rival of more advanced nations in the great trade-fields of the world, is no less interesting and remarkable than the nation's phenomenal expansion of industry already described. As Japanese history runs back till lost in the mythic age, it is impossible to say just when the country's foreign commerce began ; but, in all probability, the immigrants from the continent who colonized the coast of Izumo tried to keep up some measure of communication with the ancestral mainland, and to bring over, to whatever extent possible, the available necessities of civilization. In the most ancient records there is mention of iron for spears, and of earthenware utensils, as well as of silk and hemp, all of which must at first have been imported from Korea. In ancient Yamato imports must have formed a more practical commodity than exports. With the dawn of authentic history in the sixth century A.D., we read of horses, cotton cloth, musical instruments and jewels, as well as of bronze mirrors, coming from the continent. It is safe to assume that with increasing intercourse between Yamato and China in the seventh century, and still more in the eighth, went on a corresponding development of trade, though the year's turnover was probably insufficient seriously to affect the finances of the infant empire much one way or the other, since it apparently was much more concerned with extracting tribute from Korea than with pushing commercial enterprise. At any rate, trade was

sufficient to enable the superior intelligence and civilization of the early settlers to overcome the savage aborigines who were left to defend themselves with their more primitive weapons and implements of war. The very remarkable development of civilization and culture that characterized the Heian era (800–1100) implied an unusual degree of commercial intercourse with Korea and China, if not also with India, promoted, as commerce not infrequently is, by religion.

1. First Commerce with Europe

With the advent of Europeans in the sixteenth century, Japanese commerce entered on a new phase. The long period of civil strife which the Tokugawa régime ended must have given prominence to trade in weapons and munitions of war. Just when the land was seething with blood and anarchy, a Chinese junk was blown ashore on the coasts of Japan, with a Portuguese merchant adventurer on the look-out for new fields of trade. He and his two companions were not slow to see that Japan was commercially virgin soil well worth exploitation; and the castaways in time returned to their colony with a tale that brought more Portuguese traders eager to enter the new market. The foreign merchants were welcomed by the *daimyo* of the various fiefs, and these feudatories were soon in competition with one another, offering facilities for foreign trade.

For half a century or so the Portuguese merchants had things all their own way; but, having taken into their service and confidence a Dutchman named Linschoten, they gave away the secret; and when the Dutch shook off the domination of Spain, which at that time held Portugal, they resolved to send ships of their own to the Far East, since they were no longer allowed to share in oriental trade at Lisbon. On finding their hated rivals in possession of the Japanese market, the Dutch naturally did all in their

power to drive them out, by fair means or foul; and when they finally succeeded in doing this by arousing the suspicions of the Japanese authorities against the political and religious motives of the Portuguese and Spanish traders and friars, then the English arrived in Japan, whom the Dutch in turn hated and tried to hinder in trade with the country. From these bickerings and animosities between people of the same religion, the Japanese got a very poor impression of Western merchants who were willing to betray one another for the sake of gold; and, consequently in 1639 all the Portuguese and Spanish were banished the country, the foreign religion exterminated, and the Dutch exiled to Deshima, a tiny island now part of the mainland at Nagasaki, the English having retired from Japan of their own accord before the edict of banishment.

But the foreigners did a roaring trade while it lasted, amounting to over £660,000 annually; and during their century of exploitation carried out of Japan no less than 100,000,000 yen in almost pure gold, until the shogun had at last to place restriction on the export of the precious metal. The Dutch were accustomed to make a clear gain of 100 per cent on each voyage, while the English gave up after losses amounting to £40,000 in ten years. But the foreigners had succeeded in opening trade between Japan and the Occident, bringing into the country mainly fire-arms, gunpowder, woollens and various utensils, while taking in exchange silk, lacquer and, above all, gold.

There are indications that the Japanese did not understand the foreign methods of barter and trade. The predominance of the military spirit which always takes rather than gives, and despises the mere bargainer, placed the merchant at a disadvantage; and it is, therefore, all the more remarkable that the foreign traders did so well. But the Japanese did not, of course, realize the value of their gold coinage from a Western point of view. Trade in Japan was carried on mainly by the lowest classes of the

people who won a reputation as tricksters and barter-mongers; and when the country, after more than 200 years of seclusion, opened up to foreign trade in 1858, the status of the merchants had not changed.

2. Dawn of Modern Trade

After Commodore Perry's opening of Japan in 1854, followed by treaties of commerce with all the leading nations in 1858–9, the foreign merchant began to appear in all the ports open to trade, and in a short time laid the foundations of that enormous expansion of commerce that has been subsequently built up. From 1868 Japan's commercial history has been a story of unbroken progress. The first essays at foreign trade were overcast by the gloom of the brief wars of the Restoration, and the Satsuma rebellion a decade later; and some of the earliest imports were munitions for the respective belligerents. Foreigners and Japanese were alike ignorant of each other's ways and customs, and consequently of the proper values of what either had to sell. During the early years of the Meiji era trade had to struggle against a depreciated irredeemable paper money, liable to fluctuations of value from day to day, as in Germany after the European War; while a total want of credit, and a low productive capacity on the part of the people, added further complications to commerce. The nation, as we have seen, had practically no modern manufacturing industries. Exports were confined for the most part to agricultural products, such as silk, tea and rice, the only manufactures being objects like porcelains, fans and lacquer. Other difficulties arose from the fact that although Japan was a bi-metallic country, silver had practically displaced gold; and as the silver market depreciated throughout the world, the reaction on Japanese credit and foreign trade was unfavourable. With the revision of the monetary system in 1871, introducing a uniform

currency, and the establishment of a legal system of weights and measures in 1875, together with needed improvements in communications and media of exchange, commerce entered on a newer and more progressive stage wherein modern methods became possible.

The general commercial awakening of the nation must in a large measure be ascribed to the efficient assistance of the Government in aiming definitely at improvement of commercial institutions, the establishment of banks, educational facilities and means of communication, based on Western systems. The result was a marked growth in the expansion of trade, together with greatly improved methods in commercial intercourse. By the year 1878 the total trade of the country had arisen to twice what it was at the beginning of the Restoration period in 1868, and ten years later it was nearly three times that of the previous decade. Capital invested in Japanese commercial companies in 1908 was twice that of the ten years before, amounting to about 120,000,000 yen, a sum that had swollen to 2,700,000,000 yen in 1916. In 1908 the bills exchanged at the national clearing-houses amounted to 6,370,000,000 yen, while at present it is in the vicinity of 56,000,000,000 yen. The total foreign trade of Japan which was valued at about 27,000,000 yen in 1868 has to-day increased to some 3,700,000,000 yen.

3. Causes of Rapid Trade Expansion

Two great landmarks in the history of Japan's foreign trade are the war with China in 1895 and that with Russia in 1905. The indemnity of 350,000,000 yen, which Japan received from China, was largely applied to reform of national currency; and in 1897 the gold standard was adopted, when trade, freed from speculative risks inseparable from fluctuating exchanges in silver currency, rapidly advanced, lending impetus to manufacturing industries as

well. Indeed, a tide of commercial prosperity seemed to overflow Japan after the war with China; and in 1899 the new customs tariff increased import duties to from 5 to 15 per cent; so that from this period the value of goods imported must be taken to represent the cost of the goods as landed in Japan, instead of, as before, the cost at the place of production.

But a brief glance at the figures is sufficient to show the remarkable expansion of Japanese trade in recent years, especially, as has been suggested, since the wars with China and Russia respectively. At the beginning of the Meiji era the total trade of the country was something over 26,000,000 yen. Ten years later the foreign trade had more than doubled, amounting to some 56,000,000 yen; while during the succeeding decade it increased five-fold. In 1887, some ten years before the war with China, the value of Japan's total foreign trade annually was about 97,000,000 yen, but two years after the war it had jumped to 382,440,000 yen, or about four times the total of a decade earlier. The successful termination of the Sino-Japanese war gave a tremendous impetus to industrial expansion on account of influx of capital for indemnity; and this ratio of increase was steadily maintained up to the outbreak of war with Russia, one year after the termination of which the foreign trade of Japan arose to 926,000,000 yen, or more than nine times that of 1887. It may be questioned whether any other country has shown in its foreign trade such a high ratio of progress in a similar space of time. With the outbreak of the war in Europe the foreign trade of Japan grew to a volume and value still more unprecedented, totalling over 1,833,000,000 yen for 1916, and reaching 5,512,000,000 by the end of the war.

The causes of this phenomenal expansion must be ascribed mainly to the increasing demand for Japanese goods abroad, the rapid increase of industrial enterprise within the country, and especially to the exigencies of the

European War when Japan so largely gained the markets from which the belligerents had to withdraw while preoccupied with Europe. Of course the increase of 112 per cent shown by the war years cannot be taken as normal, so that the normal ratio of increase must here be deducted from the actual, and a careful examination of the figures from this point of view would bring the increase down to about 62 per cent as due to the war alone. And at the same time it should be borne in mind that such calculations deal with values only and not with volume; and since the prices of almost all commodities advanced enormously in the war years, the actual quantities of imports and exports should also be examined in order to arrive at an accurate estimate of the ratio of increase in trade. During the war Japan for the first time in her history steadily maintained a favourable balance of trade, but afterwards an adverse balance set in and has continued, amounting to over 300,000,000 yen annually. The following table presents the situation of imports and exports for four recent years:

	1920	1921	1922	1923
Exports .	2,277,672,000	1,156,804,000	1,471,954,000	1,427,776,000
Imports .	3,234,819,000	1,598,080,000	2,201,286,000	2,215,412,000
Total .	5,512,582,000	2,754,885,000	3,673,240,000	3,643,188,000

4. Survey of Markets

A survey of the general position indicates that the United States of America stands foremost in Japan's export trade, China coming next, followed by England, France, Russia, British India and Italy. Germany and Austria were eliminated by the war, but have since returned and are regaining their trade with Japan. Asia continues to be Japan's best customer, America coming second as a purchaser, and Europe third, though the whole of Europe

does not buy as much as America or China from Japan. The war years saw an extraordinary increase in Japan's trade with Russia, the Dutch East Indies, the South Sea Islands and South America, with a considerable extension in Egypt and South Africa and Australia, but this has declined with the return of the belligerent countries to these markets. In regard to imports, Japan still draws most of her stock from British India, England, the United States, after which come China, the Dutch East Indies and French China.

The main volume of Japanese exports to Europe consists of foodstuffs, raw materials and indigenous manufactures in the way of luxuries, while to America go chiefly tea and raw silk, India and China taking mainly cotton yarns and textiles, with recent extension of these exports to the South Seas. With the exception of cotton hosiery, Japan's latest applications of mechanical science play, as yet, an exceedingly small part in Western markets where her exports would have shown but slight increase had it not been for the war in Europe ; but a beginning has been made, and the future will see increasing competition. Most of Japan's manufactures go, for the present, to Eastern markets, in which direction the ratio of increase is more pronounced. In the matter of imports, however, Japan gets from Europe chiefly manufactured goods, while deriving her provisions mostly from oriental countries. With her rapid development of domestic industry, Japan will probably continue to import less manufactures from the West, and continue to depend on Eastern countries for her raw materials.

5. Proportion of Raw Materials to Finished Articles

Enough has been said to show that Japan, in a remarkably brief period, has developed from a purely agricultural to an important industrial and commercial nation. During

the enforcement of the Tokugawa policy of isolation trade depended almost wholly on agriculture ; and when the country was again opened to foreign trade there was an immediate influx of Western manufactures, and a return trade was at once established. In 1868 trade consisted chiefly of imports of cotton and woollen cloth, and exports of tea and raw silk, the latter covering at least two-thirds of the total value of exports. As time went on and Western manufacturing processes were introduced, output developed to a point where the domestic demand was being met and a surplus left over for exportation. This was particularly the case with cotton goods, sheetings, watches, beer and groceries, which had changed from being the largest figures among imports to being important exports. This tendency is emphasized by the fact that while the total value of Japanese imports to-day is about forty times greater than the figures for 1868, the importation of cotton is only five times as great, and of other textiles and manufactured clothing only some thirteen times as great.

The nature of a country's imports and exports is always an accurate reflection of its industrial and tradal conditions ; for, no matter how great its increase of foreign trade may be, the circumstances cannot be taken as proof of permanent progress if imports are mainly manufactures, and exports mostly raw materials. It has already been shown that most of Japan's exports up to 1877 were raw materials, while her machine-made products were all imported, a condition that during the last decade or so has been completely reversed. Thus it has come about that the class of commodities formerly supplied to Japan from abroad has now in turn become the chief item in Japan's exports, which accounts for the wonderful development already shown in the country's foreign trade. This steady decline in the importation of manufactured articles, simultaneously with an increasing domestic demand for such goods, proves

the reality of Japan's industrial progress, fostered largely by her protective tariff. As time goes on Japan will doubtless become still more independent of foreign nations as regards all manufactures, except, perhaps, machinery ; and she will, therefore, pursue a policy of importing mostly raw materials and exporting finished articles. How far Japan will be able to maintain this policy in competition with the usually superior manufactures of Western countries is an interesting question. Complaints in regard to the quantity and quality of Japanese manufactures continue, though less frequently, to be made by foreign buyers.

Notwithstanding the great extension of trade experienced by Japan in recent years, the value of her trade per head of the population is still only some 30 yen, compared with over 260 yen per head in Great Britain, a contrast very striking, especially as the *per capita* ratio of Japanese trade is even lower than that of Spain and Italy. Moreover, in such articles as high-grade woollens, iron, machinery, dyes and paper, Japan will be more or less dependent on foreign countries for some time to come, though in chemical dyes and cheap paper there has been rapid development since the European War. Yet as regards all the very highest classes of goods, except silk, Japan still depends on other countries. In 1913, for example, Japan imported iron, machinery, woollen stuffs, fine cotton fabrics and paper to the value of 29,000,000 yen ; but in 1916, in spite of the decline of imports on account of the war, Japan managed to import these goods to the value of 110,000,000 yen, and the figure is much larger to-day.

6. Principal Exports and Imports

Japan's principal exports at present are raw silk, cotton yarns and fabrics, silk goods, copper, coal, sugar, matches, knitted goods, waste silk, tea, hemp plaits, timber, fish both salted and dried, earthenware, straw plait, chip plait,

hats, handkerchiefs, rice, figured matting, camphor, menthol crystal, peppermint oil, fish oil, whale oil, canned and bottled foods, glass and glassware, buttons, paper, towels, machinery and accessories, toys, pulse, brushes, fruits, saké, edible seaweed, sulphur, bamboo ware, umbrellas, isinglass, ships, boats, patent medicines, soaps, vegetables and others ; of which silk, copper, camphor, braids and fish oil go chiefly to America and Europe, while cottons, knitted goods and marine products as well as sugar go for the most part to oriental countries. Porcelain and timber go to America, Australia and Mexico.

The principal imports are raw cotton, ginned cotton, rice, fertilizers, sugar, machinery, wool, crude sulphuric acid, ammonia, woollen goods, wheat, petroleum, woollen yarns, finer cottons, mineral phosphates, flax, hemp, vegetable fibres, paper pulp, aniline dyes, railway equipment, coal, ships, boats, india-rubber, gutta-percha, zinc, artificial indigo, bicycles and accessories, motor cars and accessories, iron goods, drugs and chemicals ; of which most of the iron, machinery and woollens come from Great Britain, raw cotton from the United States, India, Egypt and China ; wool from Australia, Germany and South Africa ; sugar and cereals from India and oriental lands ; paper from England, Germany and Austria ; petroleum from America ; and fertilizers from South America.

7. Japan's Trade Policy

It is not too much to say that the entire population of Japan is now absorbed in the ambition to become supreme in the political and commercial world of Eastern Asia. With Japan's enormous expansion of industry, trade and shipping since the European War, and her close, accurate investigation of trade conditions everywhere, the commerce of the country may be expected to find permanent extension in fields formerly held by Western countries,

more especially in India, South America, South Africa, the South Sea Islands, Australia and China ; while a high tariff protects the nation's nascent industries from competition in the way of foreign imports. Though Japan has still to show that she can hold her own against the superior manufactures of countries like England and the United States, yet owing to her cheaper labour, longer working hours, and better knowledge of oriental markets, Japan cherishes every hope of success, and has already driven some of her Western rivals from the cotton and tobacco markets of the Far East. Japan's invasion of the Indian market is pronounced, though her chances there may be problematical. Japan has, moreover, to remember that her phenomenal expansion in industry and trade has been in no small measure due to satisfactory relations with the nations she now hopes to rival, and even outdistance, in the illimitable trade fields of Asia.

The question of direct trade is one of increasing interest to foreigners and Japanese alike. The foundations of Japan's foreign trade were laid by foreign middlemen from Europe and America, who established branches or agencies in the open ports at a time when Japan had practically no commercial intercourse with the outside world. During the first years of Japan's foreign trade these intermediaries were essential to a proper facilitation of trade ; but with the increasing expansion of commerce in recent years, the Japanese have been taking a corresponding share of the trade, and efforts are being made to get rid of the foreign middleman and bring the volume of trade as far as possible into native hands. This movement is known as 'direct trade.' The policy is regarded by foreign merchants as a mistaken one, since the foreign merchant, resident in Japan, knows the needs of the foreign market best, and is more trusted by occidental purchasers in promoting transactions with Japan. That the policy of eliminating the foreign middleman is not wholly successful

may be seen from the large foreign firms still doing a profitable business in Japan, as well as from the fact that about 60 per cent of the country's export trade still passes through their hands.

It has already been shown that by the introduction of a high protective tariff and promotion of rapid industrial development Japan has succeeded in reducing imports, but their volume is still large, and a favourable balance of trade cannot be maintained. While Japan commands the Oriental market in the bare necessities of life, she can never afford to be defiant towards her competitors, with whom in any tariff war she must inevitably suffer. Apart from silk, tea, copper, camphor and coal Japan has no staple commodities for which the Western world has absolutely to depend on her. She must always remain more beholden to her friends than they to her. Japan's markets cannot be compared to those of the countries she most desires to rival. In both England and the United States the consuming power of the individual is ten times what it is in Japan, to say nothing of greater purchasing power. Ignoring these facts, Japan has gone on increasing her tariff until in some items it is now almost prohibitive. Not over 5 per cent in 1896, it jumped to over 8 per cent in 1900, and is now over 17 per cent, though reputedly reduced; it brings in an annual revenue of over 65,000,000 yen.[1]

8. Commercial Institutions

In old Japan commercial institutions pertained to local diamiates, but after the opening of the country to foreign trade, chambers of commerce began to appear, of which there are now over sixty in the empire, with about 2,000 members and an income of some 400,000 yen a year. The

[1] Owing to losses from the great earthquake there has been an enormous expansion of imports and a vastly increased adverse trade balance, to offset which the import duties again have been greatly increased.

chambers of commerce are conducted entirely on European lines, and are self-governing bodies whose chief functions are to investigate industrial and commercial affairs, engage in arbitration, act as commercial consultative bodies for the Government, and to carry on trade propaganda. Japan has also numerous ancient and flourishing trade guilds which exercise an important influence on commerce. These guilds represent the various industries and manufactures; and their main purpose is to promote the interests of the members generally, the rectifying of bad business customs, as well as the improvement of production and the opening of new markets. The guilds act in conjunction with one another toward the attainment of common ends and the exchange of mutual information helpful to trade and industry. The various local guilds are united under one central authority, the officers of which are appointed by the Government. The total number of these guilds is well over 1,000, with numerous allied associations, and a membership of considerably over 1,000,000 and an annual expenditure of over 3,000,000 yen. The total capital represented by the industrial guilds of Japan is estimated at about 750,000,000 yen. The Central Association of Trade Guilds assists the Government in regulating the quantity and quality of output in all the more important lines of industry, especially in the inspection of articles for export. By a careful conditioning of exports it aims to prevent the sending abroad of inferior goods that prejudice the reputation of Japan's manufactures.

CHAPTER V

COMMUNICATIONS

UNDER the caption of communications are included such public utilities as post-offices, telegraphs, telephones, roads, bridges, harbours, shipping and railways. The Department of Communications was organized in 1885 to take over the supervision of post-offices, telegraphs, lighthouses and shipping, up to that time under the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, and the Department of Engineering subsequently abolished. In 1891 telephones and electrical industries came under the supervision of this department, to which in 1892 was added the management of railways, and a year later the general supervision of land and sea transportation. The Department of Communications had now become so expanded and complex as to have grown unwieldy, and, after the nationalization of private railways in 1906, a Railway Bureau was created to which the management of railways has been committed.

I. POST-OFFICES

1. Courier System of Old Japan

Japan claims to have had a postal service of rudimentary character from A.D. 202, when the Empress Jingo invaded Korea ; but little is known of either its mode or efficiency, save that after some 400 years it was improved under the influence of ideas borrowed from the relay system of China. The service was further reformed by the military

government of Yoritomo at Kamakura in the twelfth century, when couriers took the place of riders; but, during the civil strife of the Ashikaga period, all means of communication fell into abeyance. The Tokugawa shoguns had their own system of couriers, which was inaugurated in 1696 to convey official communications from the Central Government to the various district officials, the letters and documents being placed in boxes and carried from station to station, and the stations paid in rice. The various feudal lords and their district officials maintained a messenger service too, the most notable of which was that of Kii province, by which communications were carried to post-stations 15 miles apart, though the service was strictly limited to official use. During the last two centuries of the Tokugawa era, however, the merchants of Osaka, Kyoto and Yedo had a regular system of private letter-carriers; and for sharing in this convenience the public were glad to pay high rates. This system continued down to the opening of Japan to Western intercourse in 1868.

2. Advent of Modern Postal System

With the Restoration of Imperial Government and the rapid modernization of the country the people of Japan were ready to have the old relay courier system, with all its abuses, give way to a new system modelled after that of occidental countries. In December, 1868, a regular postal service was inaugurated between Tokyo and Kyoto, and extended to Osaka and Yokohama the following year. Stamps were now used for the first time to mark the payment of postage on letters. The new postal service made remarkable progress, soon opening up connexions with Nagasaki in the south and Niigata in the west, as well as with Hadodate in the north; while the kinds of matter carried in the mails increased greatly in bulk and variety, charges being calculated according to distance. In March,

1873, new regulations were issued by which private individuals were forbidden to engage in letter-carrying, and uniform rates of postage were fixed for all places within the Empire. In June, 1877, Japan joined the Universal Postal Union and at once organized a system of domestic and foreign mail service that has since continued and shown unusual development and efficiency. In 1879 the post-offices maintained by the various European Powers in the treaty ports of Japan were withdrawn, the British Government taking the lead, after which time Japan enjoyed complete postal autonomy.

According to the existing system there are three grades of post-offices in Japan, known as first-, second- and third-class offices. First-class post-offices are in the larger cities, like Tokyo and Osaka, and have the supervision of subordinate post-offices, as well as over maritime affairs in their respective districts. The principal first-class post-offices are Tokyo, Osaka, Kumamoto, Sendai and Sapporo. The vast majority of the national post-offices are of the third-class grade, and are conducted on a contract system, an expedient which the department finds highly economical.

3. Development of Postal Business

The postal system of Japan has not only shown remarkable development, but has branched out into an extraordinary number of activities not usually undertaken by post-offices in other countries, such as the carrying of every sort of freight, with, of course, limits as to size and weight ; the collection of taxes and bills, the distribution of advertisements, and the paying of pensions and annuities on behalf of the national treasury. Mails are delivered twelve times a day in Tokyo, ten times in Osaka and Kyoto, the average for first-class post-offices being eight times a day ; for second-class offices six times daily, and for third-class offices three times a day. There are special delivery

services at reduced rates for various forms of mail matter. The regular letter postage inland is 3 sen, with 5 sen for special delivery and 7 sen extra for registration, while the charge for parcels is remarkably low. No money is allowed to be sent through the mails, though beefsteak has been known to pass. Consequently there is a tremendous business in money-orders which, nevertheless, have to be registered and so add 7 sen extra to the commission on the postal-order. The savings-bank department of the post-office is very popular and prosperous.

The Japanese postal official is usually a courteous and faithful servant of the public, though one occasionally experiences eccentricities of service and interpretations of regulations, that astonish the foreigner ; and, as for post-men, considering the meagre wages they receive, they are on the whole efficient and honest, though now and then arrests are reported for pilfering or throwing away mail when distance proved inconvenient for delivery. The custom of receiving postage stamps in the postal savings bank for deposit encourages the removal of stamps from mail matter, if dropped in the pillar-box. The postal department maintains a rural delivery that is probably unsurpassed by any other country, extending to far mountain regions where postmen have to face the risk of being waylaid by robbers and killed.

The growth of Japan's postal business may be seen from the fact that in 1905 there were only 4,228 post-offices, which had increased to 6,932 by 1910, while the present number is 8,014, or one for about every 7,410 of the population. The annual route covers about 55,000 miles ; the number of letters and post-cards annually carried is 3,816,942,000 ; and of parcels, 44,473,929 ; foreign letters and parcels, 31,245,000. The number of domestic postal-orders issued annually averages about 23,341,000 with a value of 372,862,000 yen ; and the foreign money-orders issued are about 15,000 with a value of 504,000 yen. The amount

on deposit in the postal savings banks is about 1,130,000,000 yen in the name of some 30,000,000 depositors, or some 27 yen *per capita* of population.

II. TELEGRAPHS AND TELEPHONES

1. Early Development

The electric telegraph instrument was first brought to Japan by Commodore Perry as an example of the progress of invention in the United States, and the first telegraphic apparatus in Japan was set up in the palace of the Prince of Satsuma in 1858, as a curiosity and not for use. The first telegraph service was opened in Tokyo in 1872, the engineer being an Englishman; and to him and others of his race the Japanese system owes its initial success. So rapid was the development that Japan was ready to join the International Telegraph Convention seven years later, and in 1883 she became a member of the International Union for the Protection of Submarine Cables. At the end of 1915 there were in Japan 108,470 miles of overhead wire, 2,223 miles of underground, and 14,688 miles of submarine cable; and these figures have now increased to larger proportions. Morse instruments are everywhere in use throughout Japanese circuits. The number of ordinary messages sent annually averages about 35,000,000, and by wireless 40,000; and the number of telegrams delivered annually is about 70,000,000.

As to submarine cables, it may be said that the service has shown unusual development in recent years. A cable was laid to Korea in 1882, the points of connexion being Nagasaki and Fusan by way of the island of Tsushima, and the service under the auspices of the Great Northern Telegraph Company, which was granted a charter for thirty years; but after the annexation of Korea in 1910 it was deemed inexpedient to have the service in foreign hands and the rights were amicably transferred to Japan,

for a consideration of 160,000 yen, though the section between Nagasaki and Hizen had been previously transferred for 85,000 yen. About the same time additional cables were laid between Japan and Formosa, and opened for service in 1910. According to Japan's agreement with the Great Northern Company of Denmark, that company has the exclusive right of landing on Japanese soil in connexion with international cable service; and under these terms the Danish company laid cables between Nagasaki and Shanghai, Vladivostock and Fusan; but the cable which Japan laid to the continent during the war with Russia had rendered her independent of foreign service, and, as has been shown, led to her taking over the rights of the Danish company in Korea. The charter of the company, which expired in 1912, was renewed for the service to Shanghai, and further negotiations were opened with the Great Eastern Telegraph Company as well as with the Danish Company and China and Russia, for an improved service in Siberia, and the results of this agreement are still indefinite.

In wireless telegraphy also Japan has shown rapid development. At first the service was confined to the army and navy; but in 1906 Japan despatched her first delegeates to the International Wireless Convention at Berlin, and in 1908 she became a member of the International Wireless Union, which act was ratified and promulgated by Imperial ordinance in June of the same year. By March, 1916, Japan had sixty-four Government and nine private wireless installations aboard steamers, with nine stations on shore. The shore stations have the latest equipment, some of them capable of long-distance transmission up to 1,800 miles by day and 3,000 at night.

2. Rates and Revenue

Domestic telegrams are sent in the *kana* syllabary, the rate being 20 sen for the first 15 syllables, and 5 sen for

every 5 syllables, or less, over that number ; but for telegrams within the same city or postal area the rate is reduced to 10 sen and 3 sen respectively, for the same number of syllables, the address in either case being free, except that of the sender ; and a reply may be prepaid accordingly. Telegraphic messages may be also sent in roman letters at the rate of 25 sen for the first 5 words or less, and 5 sen for each additional word ; but telegrams within the city cost 15 sen for the first 5 words and 3 sen for each word added, the word limit being fixed at 15 letters, and excess reckoned as one word up to another 15 letters. In groups of arabic figures, 5 or less count as one word ; and in codes the maximum for words is 10 letters. Urgent telegrams, which take precedence to ordinary messages, may be sent at three times the ordinary rate. Express telegrams may be sent to be forwarded from the last post-office by post or special courier at the rate of 7 sen for postage and 20 sen for the messenger, within a radius of 8 miles, and 25 sen for each additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The rate for telegrams to Formosa or any of the Japanese colonies, in native syllabary, is 30 sen for the first 15 syllables, and 5 sen for each additional syllable or less, while messages in roman letters are 40 sen for the first 5 words, and 5 sen for each additional word.

The first telephone service was opened in Japan in and between Tokyo and Yokohama in 1890, and a long-distance service was inaugurated seven years later, extending to Osaka, 350 miles away. At first development was slow, as the Japanese did not appear to appreciate the convenience of such means of communication, and special pains had to be taken by the authorities to invite the interest of subscribers. It was not long, however, before the demand for telephones was much greater than the Government could supply, and even still the number of applications for installations is many thousands more than the officials can

overtake. At the end of March, 1915, the demand in excess of supply was 140,000, while the present number of outstanding applicants is about 220,000. As each applicant has to deposit with his application the sum of 15 yen, the Government is enabled to have the use of over 3,000,000 yen annually without interest, while telephone brokers do a large and questionable business by buying up potential installations and securing premiums from applicants willing to pay from 1,000 to 2,000 yen for transfer of privilege or something less for prior installation. The Government itself in 1909 started the custom of giving precedence to those willing to pay premiums of from 150 to 285 yen according to place. This aspect of the telephone business in Japan amounts to a public scandal, made possible only because the business is a government monopoly; as any private company would fill the applications in short order. The annual charge for telephone connexion is 36 yen as a minimum and 66 yen as a maximum, the price varying according to place. Automatic stations are situated at convenient points along the streets in cities, where messages may be sent by dropping 5 sen in the slot. The exchanges are served by girls, as in other countries, and the wages are scarcely sufficient for the support of the operator. But the telephone in Japan, like the post-office, is a money-making institution, and every interest has to be subservient to that end.

Consequently the revenue from posts and telegraphs is larger and the profits greater than in the case of such public utilities in Western countries. Out of a total revenue of some 60,000,000 yen annually from posts, telegraphs, telephones and savings banks, Japan has to spend only about 27,000,000 yen in expenses, leaving more than half the returns as clear profit. This revenue includes about 15,000,000 yen from telephones alone, paid by 321,000 subscribers and others sending messages to the number of 1,545,500,000 a year.

III. ROADS, RIVERS AND BRIDGES

In old Japan the building of roads and bridges was not encouraged, particularly in the vicinity of boundaries between the dominions of feudal lords, where access was blocked, or rendered uninviting, by barriers for the strict examination of travellers. With the opening of the country to modern ways the new Government undertook the promotion of road construction as far as possible, though, as yet, this side of Japan's development has not kept pace with her progress in other directions, and the roads of the nation are in a poor way compared with those of most other countries, being, for the greater part, rather ill-made and too narrow for modern vehicular traffic.

The roads of Japan are divided into three classes: national, provincial and village roads. The national roads are those leading from the capital to the open ports, the Grand Shrine at Isé, the headquarters of the army divisions, naval stations and prefectural offices, including connecting roads. The width of the national roads must be 18 feet, or 42 feet between banks or fences. Provincial roads are those leading from the prefectural office to the district offices, or those connecting towns and busy ports. Such highways must be from 24 to 30 feet wide between bank and bank. The village roads connect the minor sections of districts or lead to local shrines or temples; there is no regulation as to width, and many of these roads are mere paths. Expenses for the upkeep of national and provincial roads have to be borne by the prefectural treasury, while the various towns and villages are responsible for the roads and paths concerning them. The total mileage of national roads is about 6,500; provincial roads, 23,000; and village roads have a mileage of some 270,000.

Owing to the enormous number of streams in Japan, bridges and culverts exceed in number those of most other countries. On the above mileage of roads are no less than

346,144 bridges, of which 518 are of iron, 71,268 stone, and 136,860 wooden bridges, the rest being of earth or are pontoon bridges. The average annual expenditure on roads in Japan is about 18,000,000 yen, and on bridges about 5,000,000 yen, the total, including sundry engineering outlay, coming to over 25,000,000 yen annually. The amount spent on riparian and other engineering work on roads and bridges aggregates some 43,000,000 yen a year.

The rivers of Japan require a great deal of expensive attention, owing to frequency of floods. During the last 1,300 years there have been some 426 destructive inundations, or one every three years, with consequent entailment of enormous outlay on dredging of waterways and repairing of embankments. One of the most destructive of these floods occurred in 1896, causing damage to the extent of 138,000,000 yen, though the flood of 1910 was scarcely less destructive and costly. Losses of human life through floods during the past thirty-five years have totalled 23,700 persons.

By the River-control Law of 1896 the Government attempted to make a determined effort to provide still greater safeguards against destructive floods by a system of hydraulic engineering, each local government being made responsible for the streams under its jurisdiction, the State to assist in cases manifestly too expensive for local finance. Since then twenty-five rivers and thirty-six tributaries have received attention, at an average annual outlay of about 3,000,000 yen by the Government, and some 10,000,000 yen by prefectures, the average expenditure on this special scheme having amounted to about 13,000,000 yen annually for some years. Shortly after the great earthquake of 1923 there was a fearfully destructive flood in the Tottori district with much loss of life and property. The national authorities are pushing their riparian schemes to completion with great intelligence and energy. At present sixty-five rivers are included in the Government's plans, of which

twenty are to be finished in the next few years, at a cost of 180,000,000 yen, for which 10,000,000 yen is to be set apart annually, with an equal amount for prevention of landslides.

IV. HARBOURS AND SHIPPING

1. Harbours

Although there are now over 1,000 harbours visited by merchantmen, before the opening of the country to foreign trade, the number of harbours able to accommodate modern ships was negligible, as they remained in their natural state. It was not until 1878 that any serious attempt was made at reclamation and improvement of harbours, since when many roadsteads capable of accommodating ships of considerable size have been completed. The most important harbours in Japan are Kobé, Yokohama, Moji, Osaka, Nagasaki, Yokkaichi, Otaru, Aomori, Hakkodate, Kagoshima, Ujina, on which some 1,300,000,000 yen have been expended, and the end is not yet, for some of the most important, like Osaka and Kobé are by no means completed. Some 800,000 yen has been expended on making Tsuruga a harbour fit for communication with Vladivostock. Tokyo harbour, which now cannot accommodate ships above 3,000 tons, is to be rebuilt and rendered able to accommodate ocean liners, and though the surveys have been completed, it is likely that the recent earthquake losses will postpone plans. The greater portion of the funds for harbour improvement have been drawn from local taxation, or from public-works funds, but in exceptional cases of national importance, like Kobé, and Yokohama, outlay for the most part has been met from the national treasury. The fine harbour at Miiké was constructed at the expense of the Mitsui Company whose great coal mines are in the vicinity. At present there are thirty-six open ports with fair harbours, and some 530 ports which

enjoy regular steamship communication. Yokohama harbour, with its magnificent new quay walls and warehouses, and more than 2 miles of breakwater enclosing some 1,300 acres, was greatly injured in the earthquake disaster, but the authorities immediately set about repair and restoration.

2. Shipping

The Japanese have always displayed the maritime instinct ; and the position and conformation of their country naturally encouraged sea connexions and communications. It was, indeed, a seafaring people that first conquered and colonized the isles of Nippon ; and there is evidence that navigation developed rapidly with the growth of the empire. During the Middle Ages Japanese seamen were found all along the coasts of China, and even as far west as India and Siam. The seclusion policy of the Tokugawa shoguns after 1637, however, put a stop to all oversea ambitions on the part of the native navigators for over 200 years, and delayed further development of ocean intercourse until the ban was removed with the opening of the country to foreign trade in 1858. Since then Japanese shipping has made steady progress in all directions ; and to-day Japan has secured the supremacy of her flag in oriental waters, while her merchant ships traverse all the great ocean highways of the world.

In 1897 Japanese vessels carried only one-fifth of the nation's imports, and no more than one-seventh of its exports, but to-day most of the country's trade is borne in Japanese bottoms. In 1915 the total value of imports and exports carried to and from Japan in Japanese ships was 876,668,198 yen, and that has since been very materially increased, the next largest share in the shipping returns being given to British vessels. In 1871 Japan's merchant marine numbered only forty-six ships with a total tonnage of over 17,948. After the war with China, during which the

country purchased many new ships, the gross tonnage had increased to 709,000; and after the war with Russia the total tonnage of the nation's merchant marine had grown to 1,527,000; and at present the aggregate gross tonnage of Japan, representing 2,931 steamers, is not less than 3,000,000, of which some 700,000 tons represents sailing vessels. And the increase in carrying capacity has been quite in proportion to the growth in tonnage, the use of steel ships and the number of licensed mariners. In 1874 the seventy-four licensed mariners in the service of Japan included only four Japanese, but the number of licensed seamen is now well over 25,000, while the number of foreigners so employed is almost negligible. The Imperial Government maintains a nautical school in Tokyo for the training of officers for merchant ships, while private companies contemplate the establishment of similar schools to meet the increasing demand for certificated mariners. The gross tonnage above given does not include some 300,000 tons registered at Dairen to avoid dues collected on ships registered in Japan proper, nor native boats of less than 20 tons, of which there is a formidable number.

The marvellous development of Japanese shipping has been due largely to the liberal subsidies from the Imperial Government and the extension of ample official encouragement in every way. The navigation law of 1896 granted general subsidies to all steamers operating in conformity with the provisions of the law; but in 1910 the regulations were amended replacing the general subsidy by special grants to steamers navigating special routes; that is, the assistance was for the encouragement of routes as well as steamers. These routes are known as (1) the European, (2) the North American, (3) the South American, (4) the Australian, and (5) the Java route, the latter more recently added, together with certain minor routes to China and the South Seas. To be entitled to full rate of subsidy a steamer must be of at least 3,000 gross tons, built in Japan, nor

more than 15 years old, and with a speed of not less than 12 knots an hour. The rate is 50 sen per gross ton for every 1,000 knots covered on the prescribed route, with an extra 10 per cent for every knot of increase per hour in speed; and for ships over 5 years old the rate decreases 5 per cent per annum until the 15-year limit is reached, when all aid ceases. Foreign-built ships, if put on the route by permission of the Government, receive only one-half of the regular rate; while ships built in Japanese yards, according to special plans approved by the Government, may receive an extra subsidy of 25 per cent. The subsidies are arranged for periods of 5 years, the allotments for the current period amounting to about 18,000,000 yen in round numbers, less than for the previous period.

The leading steamship company of Japan is the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, which has a fleet of 11 vessels of between 7,500 and 12,000 tons on the European route, all having a speed of over 15 knots, and making 26 voyages a year; and on the American route the same company has 6 steamers, 2 of which are subsidized, with a tonnage of 5,500 to 9,700, a speed of over 15 knots and making 26 trips annually. On the Australian route the N.Y.K. has 3 ships of from 5,000 to 7,500 tons, making over 15 knots an hour and 12 trips a year. The N.Y.K. has in all a fleet of 100 ships, aggregating 460,000 tons. The Osaka Shosen Kaisha has a fleet of 47 steamers running between Japan and South America, the South Seas, India and Europe, as well as all the Chinese waters and America. The total tonnage of the company is about 150,000. The Toyo Kisen Kaisha, though a younger sister of the others, has made remarkable development, and now has a fleet of 9 ships aggregating 90,000 tons, running between Hongkong, Japan and San Francisco, the vessels being from 12,500 to 13,500 tons, making 18 knots an hour, and some 14 trips a year. This company has 3 boats on the South American route also, making 12 voyages annually. Nisshin Kisen Kaisha

has a fleet of 15 vessels, reaching a total tonnage of only 36,000 tons, engaged mostly in the coasting service between Japan and China. There are other smaller companies of which space does not afford mention.

The Japanese shipping companies experienced unprecedented prosperity and expansion during the European War, when all foreign competition was more or less withdrawn, leaving Japan a free hand on the Pacific. Some of the companies for a time were able to pay dividends of over 200 per cent. The Nippon Yusen Kaisha declared one half-yearly dividend of 70 per cent. New services have been established between Japan and New York by way of the Panama Canal route.

On account of the subsidies Japanese merchants have the first claim on space for freight, which foreign shippers find an inconvenience. There is no official recognition of this custom, of course, but foreign merchants insist that it prevails in practice. Foreign ships are not permitted by the navigation laws to share in the coastwise trade of Japan, and so cannot carry passengers or freight between Japanese ports, except on a continuous voyage originating abroad; a rather one-sided situation so far as British shipping goes, since Japanese vessels are free to engage in the coastal trade of Great Britain. At present the annual tonnage of British ships paying dues in Japanese harbours is about 4,000,000 compared with the 14,000,000 tons of Japan.

Further encouragement is extended to Japanese shipping by the granting of shipbuilding bounties from the Imperial treasury, a plan that has given marked impetus to the industry. The rate is from 11 to 22 yen per ton, according to class and grade, amounting in all to more than 3,000,000 yen a year. The first large steamer constructed in Japan was the *Hitachi Maru*, 6,000 tons, built at the Mitsu Bishi yard, Nagasaki, in 1898; since which time the nation's dockyards have gone on increasing in number and capacity until now it is nothing to them to turn out ships of 10,000

and up to 30,000 tons, the latter for the navy, though 3 of 27,000 tons have been launched for mercantile service, 1 of which was wrecked. Before the war the annual capacity of Japanese yards was not above 60,000 tons, but to-day the dockyards are capable of turning out nearly 600,000 tons a year. There are 18 slips at Osaka, 6 at Nagasaki and Kawasaki, 3 at both Kobé and Yokohama, 2 each at Ishikawa, Uraga, Matsuno, Ono, Fujingata, Harima, Niigata and Tsurumi. Progress, however, is always liable to be seriously retarded for lack of construction material, especially steel plates. Before the war the cost of ship construction in Japan for ordinary cargo boats was from 130 to 140 yen per ton, or 90 yen dead-weight ; during the war the cost went up to 150 or 160 yen, or 110 dead-weight, and for some time it has been 190 yen a ton or 125 yen dead-weight. Cost is declining however, and may become normal. As to labour, Japan has only about 40,000 mechanics who have any practical experience in dockyards, of which some 10,000 are at Nagasaki, 9,000 at Osaka and the rest distributed among other centres.

The matter of lighthouses is always one of great importance to Japanese shipping, as the coast is rather a dangerous one. In ancient Japan, even as far back as A.D. 664, those who had vessels at sea kept beacon fires burning at night, especially along the coasts of Iki, Tsushima and Kyushu, in order to ensure the safety of navigation ; and up to the year 1868 the duty of lighting the coasts was mainly in private hands, there being 105 lighthouses at the time. The first modern lighthouse was completed in 1868, that at Kwannonzaki in Tokyo Bay, and opened to service on New Year's Day the next year. This structure, together with those at Jogashima, Shinagawa and Nojimazaki, was built under the supervision of a French engineer in the service of the Yokosuka navy yard. Mr. Brunton, an English engineer, and the experts he brought out with him, were subsequently placed in charge of the service with

headquarters at Yokohama ; and from 1869 onwards, until the withdrawal of the British experts in 1881, some 43 lighthouses were erected, and 26 marks set up for the aid of navigation. Since that time the service has been in Japanese hands, whose plans include the addition of 300 more lighthouses ; but for want of funds it may be some time before these plans are fully realized. There are at present 162 lighthouses along the Japanese coast, with numerous other usual aids to safety of navigation in the way of lights, buoys, daymarks, fog-signals and signal stations, to the number of 409 in all. Shipping accidents and shipwrecks are common however, the number of ships lost averaging over 100 a year, and those damaged about 300, with an annual loss of life to the extent of 285. The efficiency of Japanese seamen is, nevertheless, high and is always improving.

V. RAILWAYS

1. Development

The first railway in Japan, between Tokyo and Yokohama, a distance of some 18 miles, was begun in 1870, and opened for traffic in 1872. The work was done under the supervision of British engineers, and with the aid of British workmen. It was not long, however, before other lines were constructed, linking up the larger centres of population, all under private enterprise. The Government, having found its monopoly of salt, tobacco and camphor an easy means of increasing national revenue, now resolved on the nationalization of private railways for the same purpose ; and this scheme was carried out in 1906–7, forming a united system of rail transportation for the empire. The mileage of private railways at that time was 3,248, of which the State took over 2,824 miles at an outlay of 481,981,000 yen. Since then the national railway lines have been extended, until the mileage is now in the vicinity

of 6,500, representing an investment of about 1,500,000,000 yen, on which the net profits during the past few years have ranged between 6 and 8 per cent. It is the policy of the Railway Bureau to devote most of the profits to interest on loans, and improvement and extension of track.

2. Efficiency

Notwithstanding the amount of local criticism attracted by the Government's nationalization of the railways, the system under State auspices has been on the whole satisfactory, though often quite unable to cope with the ever-increasing volume of traffic, which only additional electric railways can hope to relieve. Fares are low, about 2 farthings per mile, and for freight about 3 farthings per ton per mile. The trains are usually crowded, as the Japanese are great travellers; and every station has piles of freight awaiting transportation.

The railways of Japan are all a narrow gauge of 3 feet 6 inches on steel rails of from 60 to 75 lb. per foot. For some years there has been a project for straightening curves and widening the gauge, as well as doubling the track to allow of greater speed, and more expedition in handling freight, but for lack of funds this has been indefinitely postponed. With the exception of some long runs between Tokyo and Kyoto on the Tokaido, most of the track is still single. Both in carrying capacity and speed the railways of Japan are much behind those of England and America. The highest speed is that maintained on the line between Tokyo and Yokohama, which averages 18 miles in 28 minutes. The longest non-stop run is 55 miles. The maximum gradient on Japanese lines is 10 in 40 with a minimum radius of 15 chains, except in the Usui pass, where the line passes through 26 tunnels at a gradient of 1 in 15 for 7 miles from Yokogawa to Karuizawa, revealing between the tunnels views of the most entrancing

scenery. The tunnels cover a penetration of 14,645 feet; and in them electric locomotives are used on rails after the Abt system. As more than three-quarters of Japan is covered by mountains, with deep ravines and innumerable streams, railway construction and maintenance are costly. The longest tunnel in Japan is that near Shojiri, 15,260 feet. Bridge work, too, is a serious problem. Some of the finest steel bridges are those spanning the Tenryu River, 3,967 feet; and the Oi River, 3,332 feet, and the Banyu River, 2,126 feet, all on the Tokaido line.

3. Rolling Stock

Japanese passenger carriages are fairly comfortable, though not altogether from an occidental point of view. Trains are usually punctual, yet time occasionally seems of no value. On express trains there are dining-cars and sleeping-cars. As to rolling stock, the number of passenger carriages on State railways is about 7,000, and the passengers carried annually total 445,000,000 in round numbers. Passenger service is of three classes, and out of every thousand passengers, 15 travel first-class, 152 second-class and 829 third-class, the latter being generally as comfortable as the others, unless there be a crowd. The number of freight trucks on the State lines is about 47,000, with a carrying capacity of 470,000 tons. Tons of freight carried annually total about 57,000,000. The gross yearly income of the State railways is about 423,000,000 yen, and the annual expenditure about 370,000,000 yen. There are some 2,500 locomotives, of which 950 were built in England, 1,200 in America, 256 in Germany and the rest in Japan.

Private railway lines have a length of only 242 miles, representing a capital of about 40,000,000 yen; and there are about 2,000 miles of light railway. In the larger towns electric tramways have been introduced, representing 73 companies, with a mileage of 1,368 and a capital of over

200,000,000 yen, paying profitable dividends. Some of the local tramways are municipal, as in Tokyo.

The Tokyo central station on the State railways is one of the finest structures of the kind in Asia. It is constructed in steel and brick with much use of granite, 1,100 feet long, 135 feet wide, finished in 1914 at a cost of over 3,000,000 yen. Owing to its steel frame, this building withstood the great earthquake.

With the extension of Japan's territorial and commercial interests in Korea and China her railways there have correspondingly extended, until now she owns in Korea a mileage of 1,189 out of a total of 1,522, and the great South Manchuria Railway, a wide-gauge track, with American-built rolling stock for the most part. These lines are linked up with the railway lines of Russia and China.

CHAPTER VI

BANKING AND FINANCE

HOW revenue and expenditure were adjusted in ancient Japan we have now no means of knowing. It is clear, however, that coins were early used as media of exchange, the custom probably coming from China, though exchange was chiefly in the form of barter. There were no devices for accumulating precious metal, or combining capital in enterprise, except the treasuries of the feudal lords in later times, each clan having a separate system of finance. Taxes were collected in kind, the gatherers being individuals or families that had displayed some talent in finance. And there is reason to believe that the tax-gatherer of ancient Japan was no less stern and unscrupulous than his proverbial contemporary in Europe. As a system of finance developed, the taxes collected in kind were converted into money and paid to the feudatories, or to the central government, as the case might be. These financial families, some of whom were great rice merchants, often made loans to officials, did some exchange business between the different fiefs, and occasionally extended accommodation to private individuals.

Before the opening of Japan to Western civilization there were no banks in any occidental sense of the term; for the financial concerns already mentioned neither collected funds by receiving deposits nor distributed capital in loans to the public. The various fiefs were so isolated from each other that neither social nor financial intercourse was

possible. Indeed, any attempt at it would have been viewed with grave suspicion by the central government. In any case, all who engaged in mercantile or manufacturing pursuits for purposes of gain were despised as money-grubbers by the upper classes. And this condition continued until after the first Europeans visited the country in the middle of the sixteenth century. The foreigners found gold plentiful in some places, and the coinage more than 80 per cent pure. As the Japanese did not realize the value of the precious metal, they allowed gold to be exported in ever-increasing quantities for some years. But when Hideyoshi learned from the visitors that the financial policy of Spain, the wealthiest of European nations at that time, was to hoard precious metal, he made up his mind to do likewise. By that time the supply in Japan had become so depleted that his embargo on gold export was insufficient to meet the demand and he had to reopen the Sado mines to replenish his treasury. At the time of Hideyoshi's death in 1597 enormous quantities of gold were found stored in Osaka castle, which Hideyori inherited; and Ieyasu was obliged to curb the power of his rival by imposing on him expensive undertakings.

1. Tokugawa Policy

The financial policy of the Tokugawa shoguns, who governed Japan in the name of the Emperor from 1603 to 1868, was not unlike that of their modern successors in the Department of Finance, namely, one of temporization. In fact the underlying policy of all Japanese governments has been that inaugurated by Hideyoshi and carried on by the Tokugawa authorities, to increase at all costs the specie holdings of the nation. Modern governments in Japan have tried to do this by discouraging imports and encouraging exports, as well as by raising loans to cover deficits. To the Tokugawa authorities loans were impossible, and

constantly recurring deficits had to be balanced by an habitual debasement of coinage, causing abnormal increase of currency, a corresponding rise in prices and a serious instability of national finance.

At the beginning of the Tokugawa era the standard gold coin, the Keicho *koban*, was just over 80 per cent pure, the remaining ingredient being silver; while the subsidiary coinage in silver and copper was proportionately pure. Thus the currency of the Keicho period enjoyed the confidence of both foreigners and Japanese alike. Owing to the amount of gold carried out of the country by foreigners, already alluded to, reminting of coinage was done again and again, until it was only 56 per cent pure gold, and the subsidiary coinage 23 per cent silver. To secure a sufficient supply of gold for reminting, the *bakufu* ordered all taxes to be paid in gold. Crucial financial situations were so often tided over by debasement of coinage that currency was inflated and imposts so increased that Arai Hakuseki, the finance minister, had to limit commercial imports to the value of copper held by the nation, in order to prevent outflow of specie. Such was the financial situation in Japan at the beginning of the eighteenth century. By the effort and ingenuity of Arai the national coinage was ultimately restored to the volume and value of the Keicho era; but by the middle of the eighteenth century an abnormal depreciation in prices and a consequent fall in rice, creating dangerous speculation, obliged a reversion to the pernicious policy of debased coinage to restore equilibrium. Various new and onerous taxes were also imposed, and rice merchants became bankers to the impoverished feudal lords. To meet the expense of preparing defences against foreign intrusion at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the coinage was once more reminted, and revenue further increased by finding wealthy husbands among feudal lords for the daughters of the shogun, as well as by descending to the sale of permission to wear the shogun's crest and other

marks of rank or privilege. By this remarkable system of temporization the shogunate was enabled to meet its financial obligations and put off the evil day until its downfall in 1868, when an empty treasury was the only economic inheritance of the new régime.

2. Early Meiji Finance

The story of Japan's financial rehabilitation in the Meiji era is one of the most sensational in the history of national economy. It is mainly a tale of remarkable individualities dealing with striking incidents and crises in economic situations. But everywhere on its pages will stand out conspicuously the names of Inouye, Ito, Matsukata, Okuma, and above all, Shibusawa, the father of modern Japanese finance. When the financial affairs of Japan fell into the hands of these men after the abolition of the shogunate, the country was not only without money, but had no means of obtaining any, as the fiefs and their taxes were still in the hands of the feudal barons; and, in the absence of anything like organized finance or commerce, it is very wonderful how they were able successfully to extricate their country from so impossible a situation with comparative rapidity, reforming the apparently hopeless and chaotic monetary system and placing it on a sound basis. Debasement had left the coinage of little more value than tokens, while the country was flooded with surreptitious paper money issued by feudal lords; and, as these lords numbered some 270, the confusion caused by their issue of script of 1,600 different types may be imagined.

After some easy natural mistakes arising from inexperience, the work of regeneration was commenced in 1871, when gold was adopted as the national currency; in 1878 it became a system of gold and silver bimetallism; in 1879 it was equal to only a system of inconvertible paper money; in 1886 the paper had been redeemed by silver coins, and

at the end of 1897 a gold standard had been adopted to replace the silver standard.

To avoid the bankruptcy threatened by the wars and rebellion of the Restoration period, the new Imperial Government was obliged to issue, as an emergency measure in 1868, a large amount of paper money, at first convertible into specie, but in 1871 declared inconvertible. This policy failed to command public confidence, and in 1873 the Government was forced to make this paper exchangeable for gold notes, or inconvertible exchange bonds bearing 6 per cent interest, with the hope of destroying the paper money thus brought in, and promoting the establishment of banks which should issue convertible notes on security of Government bonds.

Japan's evolution from the economic chaos that obtained at the beginning of the Meiji era may be seen more in detail by noting carefully the various steps in the process. According to the monometallic system prevailing in 1868 the 1-yen gold piece was the unit. To facilitate foreign trade 1-yen silver pieces were issued for circulation in treaty ports, equal in weight and fineness to the Mexican dollar, then the universal medium of exchange in the Far East. The relative value of the gold and silver pieces was fixed at the rate of 16·174 silver to 1 of gold. In 1873 when Germany adopted the gold standard and began to dump her silver, the price of the white metal fell in 1876 as low as 20 of silver to 1 of gold, and the value of Japan's gold coins was seriously affected. To encourage circulation of silver the use of the silver yen was extended to silver-standard countries and became legal tender side by side with gold, thereby creating the gold and silver bimetallic system already referred to. The Government's scheme for preventing the outflow of specie, meanwhile, had been more or less successful, and sufficient was accumulating to resume specie payments. In 1885 the Government announced that from the beginning of the following year it would be in a position

to exchange silver for notes, thus placing silver on a par with gold, and changing from a bimetallic to a silver standard. The result was an immense amount of dangerous speculation in the financial and commercial world, and the Government began to see the necessity of establishing a gold standard. The opportunity came after the war with China when the Minister of Finance asked that the indemnity, amounting to 360,000,000 yen, be paid in British money, making a big addition to Japan's specie. Thus in 1896 Japan was ready for the adoption of the gold standard, and 76,000,000 yen in coin was immediately minted, the 1-yen silver coin being discontinued, ceasing to be legal tender after 1908. The silver called in was disposed of by recoinage into subsidiary money to the value of about 30,000,000 yen, and the rest sold to Hongkong and Shanghai, or distributed for circulation in Formosa and Korea. The new gold standard made the unit of coinage ·75 of pure gold, as it still is.

3. The First Banks

Although, simultaneously with the first steps in economic reform, special organs, such as exchange companies, had been appointed to take charge of the national revenue, encourage industry and promote trade by lending money at low rates, no such organs as banks yet existed in Japan. First there was brought into being a Business Bureau, then a Trade Bureau, and afterwards the above-mentioned commercial companies which developed into exchange companies in the principal cities, their personnel consisting mainly of great families like the Mitsui, the Shimada and the Ono, of ancient repute in the world of Japanese finance. Such companies were partnerships of a strictly joint-stock kind, but they could receive deposits or lend money to merchants and manufacturers, as well as issue notes, and, therefore, they constituted the nucleus of future banks. Neither the notes of these concerns nor of the Government were secured

by any fixed holdings in specie, and consequently they had soon to give way to the establishment of regular banks after a modern system. An American model was adopted on advice of Ito, who had been sent to the United States to study banking institutions, and who returned to submit to the Government the results of his investigations. He made three cardinal proposals : the adoption of the gold standard, the granting of interest-bearing bonds for the Treasury notes already in circulation, and the establishment of banks as the media for issuing paper money. These proposals were adopted in 1873 ; and in a short time national banks were established on a system that combined some features of English banking on a general basis of American practice. Each bank had to pay into the Treasury 60 per cent of its capital in Government notes, and was credited in turn with interest-bearing bonds to be retained in the Treasury as security for the issue of bank-notes to an equal amount, the banks being required to keep in gold the remaining 40 per cent of their capital as a fund for converting the notes, which conversion was always to be effected on application.

The Government's desire to replace the paper money in circulation by convertible notes was not realized however ; and, with an increasing unfavourable balance of trade, gold flowed out of the country until sharp depreciation ensued in Government paper, giving rise to the financial panic of 1874. Various circumstances had combined to deepen the sense of insecurity. For years before the opening of Japan to modern intercourse the Dutch had been draining the country of its gold, and the process continued more or less down to the resumption of foreign trade. During the centuries of isolation gold had come to bear to silver, in Japanese coinage, a ratio of 1 to 8 ; so that the yellow metal cost, in terms of the white, only one-half of what it cost in occidental countries. Moreover, the new treaties had given foreigners the right to exchange their

own silver coins against Japanese coins, weight for weight, until a foreigner going to Japan with a quantity of Mexican dollars could buy with them twice as much gold as they had cost in Mexico. Thus Japan lost heavily; and between 1872 and 1874 the balance of trade swayed heavily in the wrong direction, creating in financial circles consternation, and causing bank-notes to be speedily returned for conversion. No deposits came to the aid of the banks and the circulation of money almost ceased.

The Imperial Government was obliged, therefore, to issue a revised code of banking regulations which dispensed altogether with hard money and substituted Treasury notes. Each bank was now required to invest 80 per cent of its capital in 6 per cent State bonds; and these being lodged with the Treasury, the bank became competent to issue an equal quantity of its own notes, forming, with the remainder of its capital, a reserve of Treasury notes for purposes of redemption. It was, indeed, a complete subversion of the Government's original scheme; but there was nothing else to be done, and it worked well at a time when the Government had to commute the hereditary pensions of the feudatories by issuing bonds aggregating 174,000,000 yen, which, if placed all at once on the market, would suffer depreciation; while the holders, unaccustomed to business, might easily be led to dispose of their securities and invest the proceeds in hazardous ventures. The new regulations, therefore, offered an excellent opportunity for these bond-holders to combine and form banks, continuing to draw from the Treasury 6 per cent on their bonds, while at the same time acquiring competence to issue a corresponding amount of notes which could be lent out at profitable rates. The scheme was a success. The number of banking institutions in a brief period grew to 153; the aggregate capital of the banks in three years increased from 2,000,000 to 40,000,000 yen, and the note issue from 1,000,000 to 34,000,000 yen. It was a great and rapidly

growing system based wholly on State credit, without special reference to specie. The rage for establishing banks finally became such a mania that the Government had to limit their number and the aggregate of their note issue, which was set at 34,000,000 yen.

4. Improvement of Monetary Organs

Owing to the great expense of suppressing the unrest of the early years of the Meiji period, and the difficulty of reforming the complicated taxation system of the various feudatories, the outlay of the Government increased so enormously that further note issues were necessary, so that in 1878, the time of the Satsuma Rebellion, the volume of paper money rose from 120,000,000 to 164,000,000, with a corresponding rise in prices and depreciation in the value of paper. By practising the utmost economy the Government managed to produce a surplus which was added to the fund for reducing paper money and to swell the specie reserve, the latter need being especially imperative in face of the insistent demand for resumption of specie payments. It was clear, however, even to the most inexperienced economist, that to amass notes for the redemption of notes could never prove a successful expedient. Consequently the great financiers of the day, Ito, Inouye and Matsukata, hit upon the plan of accumulating metal by buying up exporters' bills with notes and receiving the proceeds abroad in specie ; which, together with the imposition of new taxes and the increase of old ones, helped Japan over the crisis. The outcome of this official incursion into export trade brokerage was the establishment of the Yokohama Specie Bank, which, from a struggling organ of exporters' finance, has grown to be one of the greatest financial institutions of the nation. Furthermore, in its efforts to accumulate specie and resume payments in gold, the Government organized a central national bank, the *Nippon Ginko*, or Bank of Japan, in 1882, with a capital

of 4,000,000 yen, while the numerous national banks were dissolved and turned into joint-stock concerns for the redemption of their notes in circulation. Each of these banks was required to deposit with the Treasury the Government paper kept in its strong-room as security for its own notes, and from its annual profits to hand to the Treasury a sum equal to 2½ per cent of its notes in circulation. With these funds the State bank was to purchase State bonds, devoting the interest accrued from them to redeeming the notes of the national banks. The result was a rise in the price of bonds, which were soon in demand at a premium; and, since the Government had begun converting its 6 per cents to 5 per cents, they no longer produced sufficient interest to redeem the notes of the national banks in accordance with the scheme agreed upon, causing a tremendous outcry against the Government by these banks. The dispute lasted until 1896 when a bill was passed providing for the dissolution of the national banks at the end of their charter terms and their conversion, as already indicated, into joint-stock companies without note-issuing competence. Out of the total of 153 banks only 132 continued under the new regulations, the rest being absorbed or liquidated, their notes remaining legal tender till 1899. In 1890, and again in 1893, more minute regulations were issued for bringing all banks, except certain special ones, within a system of official accounting and auditing; while savings banks had to lodge security with the Treasury for the protection of their depositors.

Under the reforms in banking, economic progress advanced apace. The producing power of the people was growing, capital was accumulating, foreign trade was fast developing and bank deposits were experiencing unprecedented increases. In 1903 the number of banks had increased to 2,307, representing 377,000,000 yen in capital and 755,000,000 yen in deposits, with 577,000,000 yen in

loans, and discounting bills to the value of 3,587,000,000 yen annually. In recent years the number of Japanese banks has slightly decreased, and now stands at 2,113, with 3,891 branches, representing an aggregate paid-up capital of about 1,577,000,000 yen, with reserve funds amounting to 455,000,000 yen. The average annual earnings amount to some 245,000,000 yen, or about 7·7 per cent.

The banks of Japan are divided into ordinary and special, the former for the general circulation of capital and the latter for specific functions. Ordinary banks are under control of the Minister of Finance whose licence is required for their establishment, or for the amalgamation of existing institutions. He is empowered to investigate the condition of a bank at any time ; and all banks must submit to him semi-annually a balance sheet and publish the same in the press. Special banks, like the Bank of Japan, the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Hypothec Bank and others, have special privileges for particular purposes, enabling them to make more profit, but at the same time bringing them more under Government control.

The Bank of Japan, created in 1882, as a necessary means of replacing paper currency by metal, and bringing private banks into uniformity with national regulations, is the only institution authorized to issue notes. The bank started with a capital of 10,000,000 yen, which has since been three times increased, and now stands at 60,000,000 yen, of which 37,500,000 yen is paid up. The Bank of Japan is privileged to issue notes against gold and silver coins and bullion, and, further, to issue notes on security of Government bonds or Treasury bills, or other bonds and bills of a reliable nature, the maximum of issue, in the latter case, to be 120,000,000. In case of necessity the maximum may be exceeded, provided the bank pays a tax of at least 5 per cent on the excess per annum. The main business of the Bank of Japan is to discount or purchase Government bills, bills of exchange or other commercial paper, to buy or sell bullion, to make

loans on security of gold or silver coin or bullion, to collect bills for banks, companies, or merchants, who are regular customers; to receive deposits and accept custody of articles of value in precious metals or documents, to make advances for fixed periods on security of Government paper or documents guaranteed by the Government. The Bank of Japan is also entrusted with the management of Treasury receipts and disbursements.

The Yokohama Specie Bank was founded in 1880 for the special purpose of facilitating foreign trade and the official scheme of buying up exporters' bills to increase the national specie holdings. Starting with a capital of only 4,000,000 yen, the bank has since increased it to 42,000,000 and recently to 100,000,000, all paid up. Assisted by State aid through some years of adverse experience, this bank is now one of the strongest and foremost financial institutions in the empire, with branches in all the chief commercial centres of the world. It enjoys the privilege of having its foreign bills discounted by the Bank of Japan at the rate of 2 per cent to the amount of 20,000,000 per annum. It is usually entrusted with foreign loans and the management of international accounts; and in China can issue notes convertible into silver. Other special organs are the Hypothec Bank for extending long-term loans at low rates to agriculture, industry and shipping, working through Agricultural Banks in the various prefectures; the Industrial Bank, acting as sort of *credit mobilier*; the Hokkaido Colonial Bank to promote colonization in that territory; the Bank of Taiwan for Formosa, and the Bank of Chosen for Korea. Besides banks, there are loan associations for the purpose of affording financial accommodation to the poorer classes. Among the most prosperous foreign banks doing business in Japan are the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, the International Banking Corporation of New York and the Park-Union Bank of Canada.

5. Taxation and Revenue

The confusion that so long existed in the national economic system and in the circulating medium of the early Meiji period, reacted unfavourably, not only on finance generally, but on the collection of national revenue in particular. Under the feudal system the *daimyo* had some 2,000 different kinds of taxes which the new Japanese Government had to straighten out and place on a modern basis. The principal revenue of the feudal barons had been land-tax paid in rice, while the shogunate had a small revenue from the nation's trifling foreign trade with China and Holland, besides something from monopolies, imposts and private estates. The aim of the new régime was a uniform system of taxation covering the whole empire, reducing the burdensome land-tax and making up the deficiency by indirect taxation, so as to encourage agriculture. By 1872 a complete survey of the country had been made, and titles to land-ownership decided, the lands being assessed on a basis of the money value of their produce for the previous five years. The new land-tax was levied at the rate of 3 per cent on this assessment, and payable in coin of the realm; while the hitherto onerous duties and imposts of feudal origin were abolished. As the demand for revenue increased with the nation's naval and military expansion new taxes were levied especially an income-tax, and imposts on soy, tobacco, confectionery and stamps. The results were so satisfactory that the Government was able to reduce the land-tax again in 1886. After the war with China requirements of revenue became still more pressing, and it was found necessary to establish occupation and registration taxes, as well as to increase the taxes on saké and tobacco, while abolishing at the same time the taxes on confectionery and vehicles, which had added little to the nation's income. By this means some 35,000,000 yen were added to the National Treasury. Taxation was

further increased in 1896, and again in 1900 after the Boxer uprising in China, which entailed in Japan an outlay of some 22,000,000 yen. Another substantial increase came with the Russo-Japanese war to help in meeting loans to the extent of 1,500,000,000 yen ; and new taxes to the extent of 145,000,000 yen annually were imposed, to which the tax-bearing capacity of the people was not quite equal. Eventually the burden had to be readjusted to allay increasing disaffection. In 1876 Japan's revenue amounted to only about 70,000,000 yen, against a slightly less expenditure. By 1916 the annual revenue had increased to 602,000,000 yen, with 2,000,000 less expenditure. To-day the annual revenue of Japan is about 1,400,000,000 yen, of which much more than half comes from taxation. How revenue and expenditure are made to balance in Japanese official accounting is a mystery one cannot pretend to solve.

While Japan has increased her taxation to meet the outlay entailed by her wars, it is noticeable that after these campaigns, taxes remained practically at war level. To allay unrest and maintain revenue the taxes have been moved from one basis to another in order to relieve the strain. It has been very difficult to keep the incidence of taxes from becoming uneven. Economic changes have necessitated the abolition of some taxes and the revision of others. In 1910 all taxes underwent a readjustment that resulted in increase of revenue to the extent of 15,000,000 yen ; and in 1913 another transference of strain led to a decrease of 7,000,000 in revenue. As the burden was still more than the farmers could bear, they were relieved of 11,000,000 yen of taxation in 1914. Land-tax is assessed on the annual rental value of the land. Income-tax is levied on business corporations and juridical persons, on public bonds and company debentures, on earned income, the rate varying according to the size of the income, amounting to 22 per cent on incomes of 100,000 yen. Imperial Government bonds are usually exempt from tax, and also

the incomes of men in the army and navy. The business tax falls on all descriptions of commerce and industry; other taxes that bring in considerable revenue are the liquor tax, soy tax, mining tax, transit tax, death duties, tax on bourses, textile consumption tax, sugar excise, tonnage dues, stamp receipts, monopolies, railways, and geisha, as well as customs duties.

6. National Wealth and Obligations

The national specie holdings, which amounted to no more than 341,000,000 yen before the European War, on account of the enormous favourable balance of trade obtaining during the war years, had increased to over 2,000,000,000 yen by 1921, though the adverse trade balance of the last three years has reduced the total to something in the vicinity of 1,600,000,000 yen, about one-quarter of the gold being abroad. The total national wealth of Japan is estimated at 87,000,000,000 yen.

Japan's national indebtedness is a matter of increasing importance in any economic survey of the country. In old Japan people of means were usually under obligation to lend money to the feudal lords under whom they lived, the lords entering into contracts without specifying any security. The rights of creditors being thus unrecognized, it was frequently the case that they were forced to provide further contributions or lose what they had already loaned. When the Meiji government assumed responsibility for the estates of the daimyo, investigations were made as to debts so contracted, and the amounts due to creditors were settled by public loan bonds, the people at the same time being freed from all further obligations to lend money, except voluntarily under a public loan system as in occidental countries.

In 1877 Japan's national debt, incurred mostly for liquidating the obligations of feudal governments and the

capitalization of hereditary pensions, and the reorganization of the country generally, amounted to 230,000,000 yen. The wars with China and Russia increased the national debt still further, and the total has been gradually swelling in recent years, until now it stands at something like 3,800,000,000 yen, of which about 2,600,000,000 is domestic loans, and 1,200,000,000 foreign debt. At the same time it must be remembered that Japan has loans to foreign countries aggregating some 600,000,000 yen. There are, moreover, local domestic loans outstanding to the amount of over 500,000,000 yen. At any rate the situation now represents a *per capita* indebtedness of over 65 yen, as compared with Britain's *per capita* indebtedness of about 1,800 yen, but this leaves a larger margin of unpledged private wealth than in Japan, since the average of private wealth in England is about 3,500 yen as against 1,539 yen in Japan. Consequently Japan's fiscal obligations and debts generally are comparatively large in proportion to the resources of the country.

CHAPTER VII

MINES AND MINERALS

THERE are authentic records to show that mining is one of the oldest of Japanese industries. The enterprise reached considerable development even as early as the sixth century A.D., when the demand for metals to make war weapons lent impetus to the winning of ore. With the advent of Chinese customs and the Buddhist religion in the seventh century metal became still more important for coinage, and for the casting of sacred images, as well as for the decoration of temples and shrines. By the fifteenth century the mining of iron and copper had become specially active, as the Chinese had begun to look to Japan for a portion of their copper used in minting. An era of still greater prosperity in mining began with the rise to power of the famous warrior, Hideyoshi, in 1583, as the unremitting strife between feudal lords created increased demand for metals, while the prisoners of war were kept in safe custody by being put to work in the mines. The export of copper and sulphur which began in the fifteenth century continued down to the seventeenth, when gold and silver were added to the list of metals in great demand abroad. The opening of trade with Europe through the Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch undoubtedly gave great impetus to the export of metals, the foreigners taking large quantities of gold, silver and copper in every cargo. In the chapter on "Trade" it has been pointed out that during the 153 years between 1611 and 1764 exports of gold amounted to 3,763,572 ounces; and of silver 135,768,918 ounces; while the exports

of copper during the Tokugawa shogunate, 1603 to 1868, amounted to 389,250 tons. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the export of copper to Holland and China was three times that of the quantity consumed in Japan. Such activity indicates that the metal veins of the country must have been extraordinarily rich and very easily worked in those days.

Of course the mining industry was conducted according to the traditional methods, which were no doubt somewhat primitive. The usual method in Japanese copper mines, before the introduction of the Bessemer process, was matsmelting, which was suitable only for small works, a process still used in the less-developed mines of Japan. The matsmelting process was invented in the Tada mine, by a metallurgist of the sixteenth century. It is a simple form of the Bessemer process, and can be operated at small cost. The process adopted in the Tada mine spread to others. In the gold mines of Sado Island a pump on the principle of the Archimedean screw was used, and plans of the mines were drawn with specially prepared instruments, after surveys were taken. The method of selection was not unlike that of the dolly-tubs employed in the Cornish mines for separating tin. In the old records reference is also made to methods of separating gold and essaying gold and silver. But in the absence of any full application of scientific principles the industry suffered a tremendous handicap, an immense amount of manual labour being required to perform merely superficial work. Consequently as the upper veins became exhausted, and excavation, transportation and ventilation grew more difficult, the industry declined and many mines were abandoned.

1. New Era in Mining

During the process of reconstruction and reform that began in the Meiji Restoration, it was soon seen that without the use of proper machinery and modern chemical

methods the mining industry of Japan could not hope to make any substantial progress. In 1868 the majority of mines were worked in shallow bonanzas and ore-shoots ; and they were generally filled with water and foul air, while the unevenness of the mine beds caused considerable loss. At the same time the general depression in trade during the closing years of the Tokugawa shogunate reacted against the mining industry. Then with the opening of the country to Western civilization came the study and ultimate adoption of occidental mining methods, the Government of the day laying on itself the responsibility of recovering the mining industry, and promoting its development to the utmost. In 1873 special mining regulations were drawn up by the Privy Council, according to which obligations of mine owners were defined, and a system of inspection instituted. The extension of mining rights to individuals was liberally accorded and the industry no longer regarded as a government monopoly. The mining regulations thus issued for the promotion and encouragement of the industry became laws of the nation on the opening of the Imperial Diet in 1890 ; and after subsequent revisions a new law was enacted in 1905. The Bureau of Mines was placed under the Department of Agriculture and Commerce ; and for administrative purposes the country was divided into five districts, each having its own supervision office. In 1878 a Bureau of Geology was founded, which in time organized an institute for carrying on geological surveys and duly publishing maps of the country. Mining engineers from Europe and America were engaged for the diffusing of scientific knowledge ; and the old secret methods, so far as they were of any value, found a new basis with Western mining machinery to make them practical, and mechanical power was applied wherever possible.

To describe all that the seventy or eighty mining experts did for the mining industry of Japan is beyond the limits of the space at our disposal. Suffice it to say that inside

of ten years ten of the most important mines that had been closed for want of proper means of working were reopened, yielding gold, silver, copper, iron and coal in paying quantities. The mines were then all worked under expert foreign guidance, and were used as training schools for miners who later opened other mines. After the desired results had been effected under Western training, official action was discontinued, though the Government still retains control of a few mines of iron and coal. The Engineering College established by the Government, in connexion with the Imperial University, with the assistance of professors from England, has done a great deal for the promotion of education in mining. Such courses are now conducted at all the national universities and technical high schools, as well as at some private institutions.

2. Rapid Development

The total mineral output of Japan in 1875 did not amount in value to more than 2,500,000 yen annually. In 1880 the total value was 6,700,000 yen; and by 1890 it had grown to 15,500,000 yen. Ten years later it reached a value of 49,000,000 yen; in 1905 it was 106,900,000 yen; in 1913 146,000,000 yen, or three times that of the previous decade; while to-day the total value of the principal minerals produced annually is about 635,000,000 yen. The total area of the more than 11,000 mines in operation is 2,362,777 acres, and the number of employees is about 465,000. The mines possess 1,236 miles of railway and over 100 miles of cable tramway, while such as produce oil have 160 miles of piping. The annual value of Japan's principal minerals in detail is as follows: gold about 10,000,000 yen; silver, 12,000,000 yen; copper, 49,000,000 yen; lead, 1,500,000 yen; iron and steel 95,000,000 yen; iron pyrites, 2,500,000 yen; antimony, 3,000,000 yen; manganese, 1,400,000 yen; coal, 418,000,000 yen; sulphur, 3,000,000 yen; petroleum, 35,000,000 yen.

A considerable portion of Japan's mineral output finds its way abroad; and during the European War there was a remarkable increase in this direction, especially as regards copper. In 1905 mineral exports amounted in value to 34,000,000 yen, and in 1910 they increased to 44,000,000 yen; while now they total as much as 283,000,000 yen, against a value of 570,000,000 yen in imports. As to the amount of capital invested in mining operations there is no very reliable information, but the registered mining companies, which represent about 75 per cent of the total, show a paid-up capital of 447,000,000 yen, among which there are forty-seven companies each with a capital of over 1,000,000 yen.

3. Mineral Resources

The most important of Japan's minerals at present is coal, which is of a non-metal variety, and found chiefly in Kyushu, Hokkaido and Honshu. The oldest deposits are found in the Mesozoic formation, but the greater seams are all in Tertiary strata, especially in Kyushu and Hokkaido. Kyushu supplies about 75 per cent of the total output, Honshu 15 per cent, with 10 per cent from Hokkaido. The coal resources of the country have not been fully explored, but the Mining Bureau estimates 1,738,000,000 tons in sight, out of a total estimate of 3,762,000,000 tons not yet surveyed. Of this quantity about 1,000,000,000 tons are in Kyushu, 568,000,000 in Hokkaido and 170,000,000 in Honshu. The anthracite of Kyushu is of excellent quality, and more is found in Kii and Choshu in the main island. The predominant type is a brown bituminous coal of which there are heavy deposits in both Kyushu and Hokkaido. The great Miiké Colliery in Kyushu works two main seams, one 20 feet thick in parts, and produces over 1,000,000 tons annually. In the Fukuoka district of Kyushu there are over 20 mines. The coal-field of Hokkaido at Ishikari is about 12 miles broad by 50 long. The

best coal in Japan comes from the Takashima mine near Nagasaki. In Honshu the chief mines are in Iwaki, Ibaraki and Nagato. The quality is inferior to that from Kyushu and Hokkaido. Japan has also valuable coal resources in the big Fushun Yentai mines in Manchuria, from which some 2,000,000 tons a year are taken. There are valuable coal deposits also in Saghalien, recently opened up.

Copper comes next in importance as a mineral product. It occurs in deposits of two kinds. The first and richest is a vein in tuff or other volcanic rock, the ore sometimes containing as much as 30 per cent of copper. Then there is the ordinary copper deposit. Most of the ore is found both on the outer and inner sides of the southern and northern arcs of Japan proper. In the southern the contact metamorphic type is much in evidence, while in the northern arc the metasomatic type prevails, the vein type predominating on the inner arc on the Japan-sea side of the country. In the latter are found the greater number of mines. Of 53 principal mines, veins supply 44 per cent; in 11 mines beds supply 20 per cent; in 3 mines metasomatic deposits supply 18 per cent; in 7 mines contact metamorphic deposits yield 3 per cent of the output. Deposits of the vein type are worked in such mines as the Ashio in Tochigi, the Kosaka in Akita and in Niigata and Fukushima. Where the deposits are found in crystalline cysts, the percentage obtained is not above 10, and often as low as 2. The largest and richest copper mines in the empire are those of the Fujita Company in Akita, the Ashio mines owned by the Furukawa Company, and the Besshi mines of the Sumitomo Company, as well as those of the Kuhara Company of Ibaraki. The Ikuno mine, another good producer, yields a large percentage of silver, and the Hitachi mine gold as well. There is no doubt that the copper industry in Japan is destined to experience still greater development, especially as the export now

represents some 60 per cent of the total output, whereas the export of coal is only about 20 per cent of production.

In recent years petroleum has become one of the most important products of Japan's mineral kingdom, the petroliferous strata apparently extending from the northern to the southern limits of the empire, chiefly in a narrow vein following the western coast of the islands, occurring in Tertiary rocks of the same geological epoch as that of Galicia, California and Baku. The chief oil wells are in Echigo and Akita ; but there are five oil-fields in all, whose depth ranges from 180 to 2,880 feet. Echigo alone has over 300 producing wells ; and there are about 900 wells in all. Some remarkable gushes have been tapped, yielding over 400,000 gallons of crude oil a day, though the average yield of wells is comparatively modest, the specific gravity varying not only in each field, but according to depth. Japan still imports petroleum, however, to the value of some 9,000,000 yen per annum, while exporting to the value of 5,000,000 yen.

Gold is found in almost every part of Japan, though not in any great quantities, the chief producing districts being Kagoshima, Niigata and Hokkaido. But Japan has gold mines also in Korea and Formosa. Placer mining is practised to some extent, but over 90 per cent of the metal is obtained from lode mining. The precious metal occurs in three types of deposit, the most important of which is contained in quartz veins in volcanic rocks, such as that found in North Formosa, Niigata and Sado Island near by. The greater number of the veins are found in Tertiary rocks, especially in sedimentary and eruptive strata. The output of gold is constantly increasing, as, on account of the recent development in the smelting of copper ore and the invention of the cyanide process, gold is being extracted from ores that were formerly difficult to treat. At the principal mines, notably at Sado and Yamagano and Serigano, modern plants have been put up, complete in some

cases, not only with cyaniding machinery, but with slimos plant. At Sado there is a battery with a capacity for treating 650 tons of ore per day, the ore averaging ·0071 per cent. Alluvial gold is found chiefly in Hokkaido, and to a lesser extent at Ishikawa in north Honshu. Some of the deposits in Korea are being worked by American interests, but the Japanese are developing other mines, and the total annual output there is about 5,000,000 yen in value.

In Japan silver is found in much the same geological formation as gold, the chief mines being in Kyushu, Honshu and Hokkaido. The metal occurs for the most part in the form of sulphides in tuff and other volcanic rocks, especially in association with copper, lead, gold and zinc, the Kosaka mine being particularly rich in silver. In Honshu, where the best silver-producing mines are found, the largest is the Tsubaki. The ore there is argentiferous galena and blende, and the silver content of the dressed ore averages ·078 per cent, without gold or copper. At the Innai mine dressed ore yields 1 per cent pure metal, with a small gold content. Over 60 per cent of the silver produced is from argentiferous lead ores. The annual silver output is something over 5,000,000 ounces.

Japan is not rich in iron deposits, and what does exist is magnetite, hæmatite and limonite, the first being the principal oxide widely distributed, but with few mines yet in operation. Wakamatsu in Kyushu, where the Government steel works are, yields the largest supply, but other important deposits are found at Kamaishi in Honshu, where a considerable quantity of magnetite is smelted. Hæmatite is also found in north Honshu at Akadani and Kamo, while limonite or hydrated oxide is found in many places. Iron pyrites occurs in Akita, Gumma and Ibaraki, as well as in south Honshu. Japan is obliged, however, to bring a great deal of her iron ore from China and Korea. The annual demand in Japan for pig-iron is about 750,000 tons, and

for over 2,000,000 tons of steel; and to meet this the country's mines can supply only 400,000 tons of pig-iron and the mills about 1,000,000 tons of steel. Annual imports of iron and steel total over 200,000,000 yen in value. The Imperial Steel Works at Wakamatsu has modern equipment with several blast furnaces of a capacity up to 150 tons, together with steel converters of the Bessemer type, and an open-hearth plant. But the works have been run at a loss, and of course do not meet the nation's demand for iron and steel.

In point of value sulphur is the next on the list. It is but natural that in so volcanic a country as Japan large deposits of sulphur should be found. Only high-grade deposits, yielding not less than 40 per cent, are worked. About 70 per cent of the total yield comes from Hokkaido; but there are other sulphur mines in Fukushima and through the north of the main island generally. Kyushu also has sulphur near Kagoshima and Oita. Zinc blende occurs in numerous veins with other sulphides. This ore had formerly to be shipped abroad for refining, but recently refining plants have been established in Japan, and imports of this metal may be expected to diminish. Lead occurs as sulphides in paying quantities near Gifu, the annual output equalling about 1,000,000 yen in value. The only district producing tin to any extent is Kagoshima, though some is produced in Gifu and Ibaraki, and the output has an annual value of some 400,000 yen. Antimony is mined chiefly in Shikoku, but also in Kyushu and other places, and has a large output. Manganese occurs in many places, mostly in Hokkaido and north Honshu, much coming from Aomori. Other minerals occurring in meagre deposits are asphalt, graphite, phosphate ore, tungsten in very promising quantities, especially in Korea, and chrome iron ore.

The present preponderance of output in coal and copper does not at all indicate that Japan is poor in other minerals, except iron, for almost every part of the country is minera-

logically rich. The figures indicating production do not as yet begin to represent the potential actual resources of the country. Owing to lack of proper facilities of transportation, and the absence of modern methods of extraction still in many mines, the mining industry has not kept pace with the development of other industries. As soon as sufficient capital is attracted, no doubt a vast increase of output in all directions may be expected. The present rapid development of metal manufacturing industries will make mining more imperative. The recent increase in such rare metals as tungsten and molybdenum, owing to the demand created by the European War, is only one example of what can be done. The vital problem, however, is iron, on which the future of Japan's industry and national defences so much depend. The situation makes it absolutely essential that Japan shall at all times have access to the iron mines of China ; and occidental nations should remember this when they are puzzled as to the persistence of Japanese interest in that country. Every means are at present devised to see that the nation's independence in the matter of iron supply is duly safeguarded.

4. Condition of Miners

As Japan does not tolerate labour unions of the occidental type, the rights and conditions of miners in that country is a question of great interest. Compared with the status of the miner in countries like England and the United States the Japanese miner represents rather primitive conditions. Yet strikes, though tending to increase, are not so frequent as one might expect ; but the miner in Japan, especially the underground miner, is satisfied with his wages, even though he works from 8 to 11 hours a day, usually 27 days a month ; and his wages are no more than from 40 to 70 sen a day, while women get from 23 to 50 sen, though these rates vary considerably according to time and circumstance.

These wages apply to metal mines, but in coal mines the wage rises to 78 sen for men and 60 sen for women. Children get from 13 to 38 sen a day. We have already indicated that the number of mine workers is about 465,000, of which 342,240 are in coal mines. Of this total some 95,000 are women, of whom 68,000 are underground; with 4,000 children, many of whom are underground. The average number of hours per day is 12; and the average yearly accidents number 190,000, with 764 deaths. The Japanese miner is proverbially careless, and accidents from explosives are common.

Most of the miners are natives of the districts where they work, or of the adjoining prefecture. They bring their wives and families and lodge in the little thatched huts provided by the company, while the unmarried live in large common rooms. Food is supplied by the mine-owners at less than the usual cost; and the miner is generally satisfied if he has enough to eat. The average Japanese, however, does not care for the life of a miner, and the companies have agents for recruiting, whose placards one often sees posted, calling for men.

The miners usually work in three relays per day, every few men being under a boss, who gets a much higher wage than those he oversees. The Japanese miner is apt to be superstitious, and has a conviction that the spirits of all killed in the mines still haunt their dark chambers. If his lamp suddenly goes out, he believes a spirit has extinguished it. Seeing phosphoric light along mine floors he says, "There is where the bones of the killed have crumbled into dust." Like all Japanese labourers, the miners sing as they work, keeping time to manual action. Without this some would make less movement than others. Mine-owners bear the expense of hospital treatment in case of accident, of pay during disablement, and compensation in case of permanent disablement or death. In the larger mines the workers have mutual aid associations, to the funds

of which the mine-owners contribute ; the miners' children are educated either at schools established by the mine-owners or at schools subsidized by them, thus reducing the fees paid by the children. Though there is little disaffection among the miners of Japan on the score of wages, it often appears on the score of what is regarded as injustice, such as the dismissal of a popular employee or the ill-treatment of a worker ; and the usual method of retaliation is to attack the house of the manager. The gang boss wields absolute authority ; his orders must be obeyed right or wrong, and if one boss has a quarrel with another, their respective men take it up and soon there is a fight.

The five mining inspection offices exercise due control over such matters as ventilation, construction in mines and the use of explosives. The mine-owners have to submit to these official inspection officers the rules and regulations adopted for the workers. The chief inspection offices of the Government are at Sapporo, Sendai, Osaka, Tokyo and Fukuoka. While foreigners are not permitted to own property in Japan, they are allowed to work mines in partnership with Japanese subjects. The mining law of 1905 authorizes the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce to grant, cancel or suspend mining rights. The area for coal mines must be not less than 40 acres ; for other mines it may be less ; but in no case to exceed 820 acres. A limited time is allowed for the development of concessions registered ; and all mines in operation must pay a tax of 1 per cent on value of products, except in the case of gold, silver and iron mines, which need special encouragement. According to Japanese law, the owner of land is not *de facto* the owner of the minerals it may contain ; he has to make application for prospecting rights the same as any other man, in default of which another applicant may secure the right to work a mine on his property.

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURE, FORESTRY AND FISHERIES

I. AGRICULTURE

DESPITE the mountainous nature of Japan, and the consequently limited area of arable land, amounting to little more than one-quarter of the total, agriculture is, and always has been, the nation's most important industry, occupying, as it does, more than 70 per cent of the people. The possession of a moderate and humid climate enhances the natural productivity of the alluvial, volcanic soil of the plains and valleys to an extent that largely compensates for restriction of arable area ; and although storms are expected in early summer and autumn, of a severity frequently destructive to the rice crops, the remainder of the year is free from such dangers, and growth is everywhere rapid and luxuriant, accounting for rich harvests and the verdant appearance of the country.

Agriculture has always played an important part in the policies of successive governments, and been steadily promoted as the foundation of national prosperity, even from the remotest times. It has proved as important a factor in the social structure of the country as it has in the economic situation, for in Japan the rural parts show a much lower death-rate than the cities, and Japan's best physique has always been recruited from the country population. The sons of sturdy farmers form the backbone of the national army and navy, while the ranks of commerce and industry constantly depend on the agricultural districts for a supply of muscle, health, steadiness and probity.

The remarkable extension of the Japanese empire north and south affords every variety of climate and a resultant variety of crops. The greater portion of the country produces two harvests a year, with a large average yield. The annual yield is usually sufficient to meet nearly the whole demand for provisions at home, as well as the requirements of various industries, and thus contributes immensely to the national welfare. Thus the commercial and industrial prosperity of Japan is largely bound up with the nation's agricultural progress, and the Government is always doing what it can to promote a more intensive as well as more extensive cultivation of the soil by introducing more scientific methods and facilitating financial accommodation.

1. Intensive Cultivation

The steady and enormous increase of population, and the small area of arable land already mentioned, necessitate an intensive system of cultivation. With the number of inhabitants to the square mile ten times greater than that of the United States, and with a smaller cultivable area than Great Britain against a much greater population, and with no adequate outlet for surplus population, Japan is forced to till every foot of the soil, even to terracing her steep and numerous hillsides; all of which is done for the most part by manual labour, using rude and simple implements. Horses and oxen are used to some extent, more than 2,000,000 of these animals being now so employed; and a few farmers have introduced foreign implements and machinery as far as possible; but the processes of agriculture in Japan are not adapted to the use of occidental farming machinery, owing to the muddy nature of the paddy-fields and the very uneven surface of the uplands. Consequently most of the work has to be done by numberless hands.

Out of a population of some 57,000,000 in Japan proper, over 34,000,000, or 6 out of every 10, are living on the land, cultivating about 15,000,000 acres, as only 1 acre out of every 6 is arable. Of this total acreage 7,400,000 are in paddy-fields, and 7,200,000 in upland, with a few plains and pastures. The average holding is about half an acre for each person, or about 2½ acres per family; but in the north, where the population is less dense, the average per family rises to over 7 acres. Over 70 per cent of the total number of families are living on less than 2 acres of land, while those cultivating more than 7 acres do not constitute more than 4 per cent of the agricultural population. It is only by fostering double crops and by resorting to subsidiary occupations, such as sericulture, tea growing, poultry, fishing, straw and wood work, that the average Japanese farmer can hope to make ends meet. Owing to such devices poverty and destitution are found to be very rare among the farming portion of the community.

Japanese farmers may be divided into five groups: those who are actual landowners; those who are landowners working a portion of their land themselves and renting the rest; those who cultivate all their own land and rent more; and lastly those who are simply tenant farmers. Some 34 per cent of the farmers are landowners; about 40 per cent are owners and tenants; and about 28 per cent tenants only. The number of landlords renting all their land and having no connexion with agriculture themselves is very small. It is obvious that the land is fairly evenly distributed. But an unwholesome feature of recent years is that the number of landowners is decreasing, while the number of tenants is fast increasing. In 1919, for example, there were 30,500 fewer landowners and 25,163 more tenants than in 1914. There is thus going on a gradual transference from ownership to tenancy; so that while many have lost their land, others have added field to field and become independent landlords, a class prone to be more

parasitic in Japan than in Western countries. If the process continues it will very adversely affect the situation, for extension of tenancy always deprives the Japanese farmer of independence and incentive.

2. The Farmer's Lot

The lot of the Japanese farmer is not generally regarded as a desirable one, and there is a constant drift from rural to urban population. This tendency is especially marked among the younger portion of the tenant farmers. The reason may lie in the fact that from 40 to 60 per cent of their crops have to go to the landlord in rent, while out of the balance they have to pay heavily for the indispensable fertilizer. Of what is then left, even when helped out by the meagre proceeds of subsidiary labour, a life of privation is their only outlook. The peasant proprietors are usually better off. In addition to their own holdings they may cultivate a portion of land for larger proprietors and make a fair living. The majority of these peasant proprietors, however, own only from 2½ to 5 acres per family, which they till with the assistance of the entire household, being seldom able to afford hired help. Taxes, too, take about 16 per cent of the proceeds; expenses of cultivation some 23 per cent more; so that the margin of profit is uncertain. But, as has been indicated above, owing to the increasing prominence of the *narikin* (*nouveaux riches*) land is now being bought up and let out to tenants, supplanting the ordinary farmer by the tenant farmer, and the country gentry of the good old days by a class not so considerate of their tenants.

When feudalism came to an end in 1872 the feudal lords and the samurai landowners were compelled to relinquish their domains to the Imperial Government. No allotment of land could be given, as in former times; and in redistribution of lands, the Government resolved to give the title

to the farmers that happened to be in possession. Thus while the nobility and the samurai lost their lands, the farmer retained his and became a proprietor ; and after an official survey of the land, the farmers in possession were granted title deeds. In this redistribution of farm lands there were many who came into possession of from 25 to 75 acres, though the majority were nearer the lower than the higher figure ; and when this acreage is compared with the average of to-day, it will be seen what a degree of re-distribution has taken place since by private treaty.

The Japanese tenant farmer pays the landlord in rice ; and the average rate for good paddy-fields is about 57 per cent of the total yield ; while the rate for uplands is about 40 per cent, usually paid in cash. The taxes are paid by the landlord ; and, as these usually amount to about 33 per cent of the rent, the actual income to owners is not large. Japan has no special legislation with regard to agricultural holdings, as England has. In the civil code a long lease of agrarian land is defined as running from 20 to 50 years, though most of the tenants hold the land only from 10 to 12 years on verbal contract. Now that the agrarian population is turning towards the cities, tenants are more difficult to get, and something will have to be done to improve further the prospects of the poorer farmers. The present policy is to increase the acreage of holdings without decreasing intensity of cultivation, and so maintain the average yield per acre.

Another increasing feature of the agrarian problem is the Japanese economy of human waste in the cultivation of the soil, which supplies the greater portion of the vast amount of fertilizer required to keep the constantly depleted soil up to the utmost possible limit of productivity. The annual consumption of all sorts of fertilizer in Japan is about 250,000,000 yen in value. Besides ordure, the principal fertilizers are stable manure, vegetable ash, fish guano, oil cake, rice bran, fish and bone manure, with large

imports of phosphate, sulphate of ammonia and Chilean nitrate. Nitrogen derived by electrical process from the atmosphere is coming on the market.

The Japanese farmer's lot is not infrequently made worse by the usurer who preys unmercifully on his victim, by extracting from 10 to 20 per cent, and often more, on loans; and as such loans total over 900,000,000 yen, the extent of the extortion may be imagined. The Government, however, is coming to the rescue with agricultural banks in almost every prefecture, affording accommodation at low rates.

3. Agricultural Productivity

Of the total area of Japan only some 15 per cent is under cultivation; and of this by far the most valuable portion is covered by rice-fields, which take up more than one half of the arable area. Rice land, being more productive and profitable than that used for dry crops, commands a proportionately higher rental, as has been shown, but for which its higher rate of production compensates. The average yield of rice per acre is about 33 bushels, which by intensive cultivation may be increased to 40; and in the south where two crops a year are possible, the yield may be increased to 60 bushels per acre. On dry land barley may be grown at 20 bushels to the acre. Rye, wheat, millet, rape, soy beans, tea, tobacco and sugar-cane are grown in large quantities. The annual yield of rice amounts to some 250,000,000 bushels, which is about 40,000,000 bushels less than the domestic demand, the balance being imported from India, Siam and China. The annual crop of cereals is valued at about 1,300,000,000 yen; and for such products as tea, rape, tobacco and sugar about 70,000,000 yen.

Though most of the arable land of the empire seems to be under cultivation, it is said that at least 8,000,000 acres more might be reclaimed for agricultural purposes,

had the Japanese command of the proper machinery for such reclamation. This process is to some extent going on, while in many places single crops are giving way to two a year by irrigation and additional fertilizer. The system established by the Imperial Government for the readjustment of land, and the granting of further facilities to farmers, has met with deserved success under able administration, having already increased harvests by about 20 per cent, and decreasing unnecessary labour to a proportionate extent. Most of the readjustments have consisted in bringing together scattered plots, and reshaping the paddies by reforming boundaries, lessening the space occupied by dykes and paths, as well as increasing the area of the average field. Nearly 1,000,000 acres have thus been improved at a cost of over 50,000,000 yen. The irrigation system of the rice-fields is ingenious, most of the water coming from mountain streams, rivers and reservoirs.

Other important products of the land that should be mentioned are fruits and vegetables, with an annual value of some 200,000,000 yen; and silkworms and cocoons 170,000,000 yen more; while live-stock and poultry add a further important item of 50,000,000 yen. The total value of annual output from the land in Japan is about 1,800,000,000 yen.

The three greatest agricultural staples of Japan are rice, tea and silk. As barley is usually only about half the price of rice, it is much used as food among the poor, by being mixed with rice. As flour is being increasingly used as food, wheat is now an important crop, grown on the uplands or as a winter crop in the paddies. It is made into flour, a good deal of which is used for macaroni and vermicelli. The soy bean is used not only for human consumption but to make soy, soup and *tofu*, the latter a bean curd which has the look, but not the taste, of cream cheese, and forms a popular and important article of diet. The country produces an immense yield and variety of beans,

yet not enough to supply the demand, and imports come from China. Many kinds of cakes, and to a large extent confectionery, are made of bean paste and sugar. Buckwheat is grown to make *soba*, a kind of macaroni; while the sweet potato and the ordinary potato form large crops. Japan grows a very fine quality of indigo, but owing to the recent development of artificial indigo abroad, the demand has declined. The growing of cotton, hemp and flax has begun, but has not yet greatly developed. Tobacco, however, finds increasing cultivation, now covering about 100,000 acres, yielding some 120,000,000 lb. annually. Sugar-cane is grown chiefly in the Luchu Islands and in Formosa. Rushes for matting, and peppermint, are also increasing products; and mulberry trees for feeding silkworms and making strong paper.

The growing demand for horses and oxen as draught animals makes stock-breeding of increasing importance. The Government has much assisted this industry by the establishment of stock farms, especially in Hokkaido. The new demand for a meat diet is also influencing the breeding of beef cattle. Owing to lack of pasturage Japan, up to the present, has not been a great stock-breeding country. After the Russo-Japanese War the need of horses for army purposes was seen to be imperative, and a horse-breeding bureau was established in 1906, though before this horses were bred on the Government stock farm in Hokkaido. At present some 1,500 foreign-bred stallions are mating with native mares, and the army purchases about 5,000 of the progeny annually. The breeds imported are mainly from Australia and England. The number of cross-breeds in the country is about 600,000, against about 1,000,000 native breeds. In much the same way horned cattle of the native breed are fast disappearing before imported or cross-breeds. In some respects this is to be regretted, for the native ox of Japan is a magnificent animal. The first imported cattle were Devon, Ayrshire and Shorthorn, but

recently strains like the Holstein and Simmenthal are being introduced as more suitable. There has been of late an immense increase in demand for dairy products in Japan, and cows are now imported or bred with a view to supplying this requirement. There are in the country about 500,000 cross-breeds against some 900,000 native cattle. As for sheep, Japan has none except those tenderly cared for on some Government stock farms, but steps are being taken to introduce them more extensively. Swine are reared in increasing numbers however, owing to the demand for bacon.

II. FORESTRY

The topographical formation of Japan, with its numerous mountains, hills and ravines, with the mild and humid climate of the country, goes to favour forest growth, and consequently the greater portion of the land area is so occupied. The verdant beauty of Japan's wooded plains and uplands has doubtless left its distinctive æsthetic mark on the people, for the native mind has a keen appreciation of all forms of sylvan beauty, especially an innate love of trees and shrubs, seen among all classes of the people.

Commercially Japan's forests have not yet bulked very largely in the national economy, chiefly for the reason that the Government exercises a jealous protection over them, not only by preservation as far as possible intact, but by adding appreciably to their original extent by afforestation. Japan regards her forests as a trust inherited from the past, and the entail is profoundly respected. The result is that there is still a large and valuable area of forest land, while neighbouring countries are almost denuded of trees. The system of forest management pursued in Japan aims at continuity and increase of the most valuable timber-producing trees as a national asset. Though it is only a few years since forestry and dendrological research have

been placed on a scientific basis in Japan, very creditable progress has been made in all directions.

The Forestry Bureau, established in 1897, aims at a thorough working of the forests, disposing of those not needed as State lands, supervising the survey of forests, regulating the procedure and operations of forest officers, seeing to the afforestation of bare lands, the improvement of transportation facilities for timber, the purchase of forests required by the State and the promotion of improvement works. The expenses of the work are met from the proceeds of the forests themselves. The afforestation scheme especially has been vigorously developed, trees being regularly planted on hillsides and denuded areas, as well as upon uncultivable mountain districts. This work has not only added to the beauty of the landscape, but has greatly protected the hills from landslides, fed the springs and rivers, improved the public health and created a forest heritage for posterity. In Japan forests are planted and harvested with the same care and regularity as any other crop. The people are taught to show the same attention to a crop of decades or centuries as to one of annual yield. In 1910 Forest Plantation Regulations were issued granting subsidies to towns and villages undertaking afforestation. Japan is at present expending some 16,000,000 yen on readjustment of watercourses in connexion with afforestation, and the area of prohibited exploitation is being extended.

1. Nature and Distribution

In Japan forests clothe the slopes of most of the mountains and lower highlands, abounding more particularly in the central portion of Honshu, all Hokkaido and Saghalien, as well as in Formosa. The lack of uniformity in distribution is due for the most part to peculiarities of soil. Since density of population renders paramount the claims of agriculture, the soil favourable to cereal production had

naturally to be cleared, and forests gave way to cultivated lands.

Broadly speaking, there are four zones of forest distribution in Japan. The tropical zone extends through Formosa and the southern islands generally, where such trees as the bamboo and the banyan attain their most luxuriant growth. The subtropical zone covers north Formosa, Kyushu and Shikoku and the lower portion of Honshu, where broad-leaved evergreens, conifers and deciduous trees predominate. Here the camphor, the oak and the pine flourish, with also box and ilex, some bamboo and edible fungus. The temperate zone runs through the north part of Honshu and the south-west region of Hokkaido, where the forests most economically important are found, such as the *sugi* or cryptomeria, the *hinoki*, the black and red pine, as well as the oak, chestnut and maple, and several valuable woods peculiar to Japan. Among the more than sixty species available for use, the peculiarly scented fir known as *hinoki* is perhaps the most valuable, its tough, strong, close-grained fibre being excellent for house construction, ship-building and bridge and mine work. The *sugi*, which resembles the great sequoia of California in appearance and texture, is one of Japan's noblest trees, thriving well on most soils in sunny places, some specimens measuring 6 feet in diameter and attaining a height of 130 feet. The wood is light yellow with a tinge of red, and is used largely for house construction and finishing, as well as for manufacture of tubs and other vessels. Another valuable wood is the *keyaki*, found in mixed woods all through Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu ; the tree grows slowly, but its wood is strong, hard and lustrous, with a beautiful grain, and is in great demand for furniture. The *buna*, a widely distributed species, attains a great size, and was used by the aborigines for making their dug-out canoes. In the frigid zone of the highlands the black and the white pine attain their best growth and supply a great demand for house-building

timber. In the Kurile Islands there is little timber, save some stunted larch and birch.

The most primitive forests still intact are at Kiso near Nagano, at Nagasawa in Akita and Tsugaru in Aomori. The beautiful forests at Yoshino in Yamato, Tenryu at Shidzuoka and Osowashi in Kii are of artificial origin. Almost the whole island of Saghalien, except a small sandy area along the coast, is covered with virgin forests of large and valuable growth. The forests of Korea have been greatly depleted, but under Japan's administration re-afforestation is making great headway. Japan has control of fine timber forests on the Yalu River, whence valuable shipments constantly come to Tokyo in logs and balks.

2. Forest Acreage and Revenue

The forest areas of Japan are classified according to ownership as follows: those belonging to the State; the Crown; to communal bodies; to shrines and temples; and to private individuals. These are again divided by the Government into forests under official protection, forests open to exploitation and forests under the control of villages or towns which are entitled to a percentage of the forest proceeds. The total area of forest and wild land in Japan is about 52,000,000 acres, of which nearly 3,000,000 acres are under State protection, 43,000,000 acres open to exploitation, and of these the State owns 1,500,000 acres of protected forest and some 18,000,000 acres of exploited forest; and the Crown 27,000 acres of protected and 5,000,000 acres of exploited forest. The State means the National Government, and the Crown means the Imperial House. The State forests are those that the feudal lords at the time of the Restoration surrendered to the Government, some of which were taken as Crown lands for the benefit of the Imperial Household, and are now under administration of the Minister of the Imperial

Household ; while the purely State forests, under exploitation of the Government, are under the administration of the Forestry Bureau in the Department of Agriculture and Commerce. In early times shrines and temples were often erected in forests to protect the latter from molestation, and the titles of these properties have now been recognized by the Government. The forests in Hokkaido, Saghalien, Formosa and Korea are under the governors-general of these territories.

Forestry as a source of revenue has not yet attained an importance in Japan consistent with the possibilities ; yet there is evidence of some progress in this direction. The revenue of State forests is about 13,000,000 yen annually, and of Crown forests some 4,000,000 yen ; and the total annual forest revenue is about 146,000,000 yen. Exports of Japanese timber are valued at about 48,000,000 yen, and imports of foreign timber at some 8,000,000 yen. Of the total value of forest products mentioned above, about 91,000,000 yen represents timber and some 55,000,000 yen fuel and charcoal.

Forest growths that usually go to waste in other countries the Japanese make profitable use of to an enormous extent. The forests of the country are rich in long grasses and undergrowths of great variety, which are much used as fuel and fertilizer. Seeds, acorns and walnuts are also a great item of produce, and wax and oil are extracted from various trees for industrial uses. The barks of certain species of oaks, alders and chestnuts are utilized for tanning and dyeing ; while the stone quarries of the wooded districts are of great utility and value. Up to a few years ago all timber in Japan was sawn by hand, but now, with the increasing industrial utilization of wood, there are numerous private saw-mills representing an invested capital of about 7,000,000 yen, with ten Government mills for the conversion of timber in Aomori, Akita, Kumamoto, Oita and Kochi. The annual amount of timber converted by all the mills of Japan is

about 230,000,000 cubit feet, valued at some 35,000,000 yen. The cost of transportation from forests to mills is very high, particularly when roads are few and rough, with torrential streams to be crossed.

It may be mentioned that the principal exports of Japanese timber are to China, Great Britain and the United States, consisting of wood for tea-chests and matches; while wooden manufactures, such as bentwood chairs and toys, are finding increasing export. Japan's imports of timber are chiefly teak for ships, and Oregon pine and Douglas fir for flooring, the teak coming principally from Siam.

Camphor is by far the most important item of subsidiary forest product in Japan. The world's output of camphor amounts to about 12,000,000 lb. annually; and the bulk of this is supplied by Japan, mostly from Formosa, where there are still vast camphor forests. Camphor is a Government monopoly; and the State has for some time been spending about 50,000 yen annually on planting out new camphor trees, some 3,000 acres being already set out, while about 2,000 acres have been planted in Japan proper. The annual output of camphor is valued at 4,000,000 yen.

III. FISHERIES

With a coast-line of over 18,000 miles, exclusive of Korea, and a geographical extension from the torrid to the frigid zone, with innumerable bays, gulfs and river mouths, it is but natural that the densely populated islands of Japan should represent one of the greatest fishing countries in the world. As the daily fare of rice and vegetables needs to be supplemented by a more invigorating food, the Japanese must, to a very great extent, resort to the sea for sustenance; and the habit has long been confirmed by Buddhist aversion to a meat diet.

The importance of the fishing industry to Japan is indi-

cated by the fact that almost 1,500,000 persons are engaged in it, of whom over 1,000,000 are men and the rest women and children. The number of boats on the Japanese fishing grounds is over 400,000, mostly small open craft about 30 feet in length, though foreign-built boats and steam trawlers are gradually coming into use, when the people can afford them. When the annual catch, excluding colonies, valued at 125,000,000 yen, is divided among the fishing boats, it amounts to an average of no more than 350 yen or so for each crew of five, a very small return for such hard and perilous toil. The *per capita* catch reaches an average of 70 yen annually, as compared with fifteen times as much in England and ten times as much in Canada. The unprofitable and dangerous aspect of the industry accounts for the gradual decrease in the number of fishing boats witnessed for some years, though recently there has been a slight increase. Owing to the frequent and treacherous storms of the Japanese waters, the lives of sea toilers are seldom without imminent peril, and more than 1,800 boats with their crews suffer shipwreck annually, with the loss of more than 1,000 lives.

1. Annual Catches

Japanese waters afford an enormous number and variety of fish, though intensive methods of fishing have reduced the species in some cases. The Marine Biological Bureau at Tajima has classified over 400 species of marine products that may be utilized either as food or fertilizer, or as providing material for various industries. If the necessary capital were forthcoming, and better equipment provided, the sea harvest of Japan could be made infinitely more economically popular. There is already evidence that capital is becoming interested, and certain ventures have been made. In accordance with the fishery agreement which Japan made with Russia in 1907, Japan's fishing rights along the coast

of Saghalien and Siberia were confirmed, and now extend as far north as Kamchatka ; but since the Bolshevik revolution in Russia a dispute has arisen, advantage of which has been taken by the Japanese to extend their rights in Russian waters. The value of the annual catches in these northern waters is about 8,000,000 yen, while the fish taken in the waters of Korea, Kwantung and Formosa is worth 11,000,000 yen more, which brings the total value of the national fisheries up to about 144,000,000 yen annually.

The principal fish taken are sardine, herring, bonito, anchovy, cuttlefish, squid, prawns, mackerel, tunny, tai, yellow-tail, lobster, sea-ear, salmon and mullet. The herring fishery is chiefly carried on along the western shore of Hokkaido and the north of Honshu, March and May being the best months. The fish are taken with pound-nets and gill-nets ; and only the parts along the backbone are used for food, the rest being turned into fertilizer. Salmon and salmon-trout are also taken on inshore grounds, for which gill-nets and drag-nets are used. Sardine and anchovy are caught along all the coasts, seines and purse-seines being chiefly used. Formerly such fish were used only as fertilizer, but recently they have been tinned and find increasing sale abroad. The bonito, a favourite fish with the Japanese, is taken mostly in the warmer waters, caught with a hook with live sardine for bait. Tai, or sea-bream, is the principal fish of spring and summer, the best, in Japanese opinion, coming from the inland-sea waters. The fish are coralled by drive-nets and then taken with the seine, but sometimes they are taken with long lines. This fish is seldom salted, as it is regarded the best product of the sea and is wanted always fresh. The *sawara* also comes mostly from the inland sea ; and, as it swims in shoals, it many be taken with drift-nets. The tunny, found everywhere, is taken in the same manner. The mackerel is a ubiquitous fish, caught with spread-nets and seines, and usually preserved in salt. Cod is taken with

lines and nets, and there is some business done in cod-liver oil. The Japanese salmon is a very fine fish; it ascends the rivers flowing into the Japan sea and into the Pacific towards the north, especially in Hokkaido and North Honshu, where it is taken with river seines and traps, but at sea it is caught with pound-nets. Most of the catch is salted and dried or tinned. Salmon trout is another delicious product of Japanese waters, taken and preserved in the same manner as salmon, though all these fish may be had fresh anywhere.

The sea-ear is one of Japan's important small fish, being valuable both for its flesh and for the mother-of-pearl found in its shell. The flesh is exported to China and brings in a considerable income. There is a growing demand for oysters at present, and the culture of this bivalve is extensively carried on. At Tabashima in the bay of Ago Mr. Mikimoto has the unique monopoly of hatching pearl oysters, the method being to have the oysters in the usual bed and to introduce grains of mother-of-pearl between the shells of three-year-old oysters, the irritation thus set up causing the fish to put forth the secretion which produces the pearl; and in four years a pearl of considerable size and beauty is found. Lobsters may be taken anywhere along the coast, nets being used. The fish called a lobster in Japan, though not a real lobster, is without claws. The prawn, which it resembles, abounds in the inland-sea waters and warmer inlets, and is taken with trawl-nets, and exported largely to China. The cuttlefish, squid and octopus also find increasing consumption both at home and in China. Sea-cucumber, or *bêche-de-mer*, is found mostly along the coasts of Honshu and in Hokkaido, and, together with shark's fin, finds export to China. There is in Japan an immense harvest of seaweeds and plants, mostly along the shores of Hokkaido and south-east Honshu. The various weeds and plants are taken and dried and then pressed into bundles for the market, where they are sold as a relish for soup,

fish or rice. Seaweed is also turned into a sort of jelly, and is also used to make isinglass.

For a people not reputedly inventive the Japanese have displayed striking ingenuity in the diversity of methods and implements used in fishing their inshore waters, until these regions have now been so depleted that fishermen are obtaining better and more extensive equipment for deep-sea fishing. Some 2,000 steamers and motor-boats are now engaged in this service, with crews totalling about 53,000 men, and the catch is valued at about 16,000,000 yen annually. The fish taken are mostly cod, mackerel, bonito, shark and whale, the meat of the latter being much in demand as food. The Government assists deep-sea enterprise to the extent of 200,000 yen per annum, under which impetus the deep-sea fisheries have made remarkable progress in recent years. Intensive methods have rather exhausted the seal fisheries of Japan, and the Government has entered into an agreement with Great Britain and the United States for their protection for a period of ten years. The whaling grounds of Japan have likewise become so depleted that official protection is now given to this industry.

2. Marine Manufactured Products

With the rapid development of transportation facilities, and the increasing demand for prepared marine products, this aspect of Japan's industry has witnessed marked expansion in the last few years. In 1900 the total income from this source was only 33,000,000 yen; in 1910 it had grown to 43,000,000 yen, and it is now about 60,000,000 yen annually. A great part of the industry is in dried fish, especially bonito, cuttlefish, tunny and sardine, but there is an immense business in tinned fish, particularly crab, salmon and sardine, to say nothing of lobster and other shellfish. Another industry of great antiquity in Japan is that of salt refining from sea-water, which is a Govern-

ment monopoly, the annual output of which is about 1,500,000,000 lb., valued at some 15,000,000 yen.

The manufacture of by-products from marine industries has now greatly developed, and Japan finds it no longer necessary to import such items as iodine, iodide of potash, isinglass and shell buttons, as these commodities have become important exports. This progress is due largely to effective encouragement from the Government Bureau of Marine Products. The shell-button industry has so increased that Japan cannot supply all the raw material required, and shells are imported from Singapore, Australia and the South Seas. The demand for Japanese tinned crab and salmon has also much increased. Japan's annual export of marine manufactured products is valued at some 12,000,000 yen.

Among the various means promoted by the Government for the encouragement of marine products is the establishment of a fishery experimental station and fishery schools, of which there are now twenty-nine of the former and five of the latter. At the same time there are 3,669 fishery guilds for protecting the interests of fishermen, with a membership of some 468,000; while the Marine Products Guild has 212 associations with 310,000 members. The artificial breeding of important fish like salmon, trout, carp, eel and snapping turtle is carried on at various places at an expense of about 3,000,000 yen a year.

CHAPTER IX

LABOUR AND WAGES

THE process by which such countries as England, Germany and Italy have been transformed from an agricultural to an industrial basis is now going on in Japan, but at a rate so rapid that the country is unprepared to deal with it, resulting in serious evils to labour and industry. The more extensive and alluring markets opened up to Japan in recent years have greatly expanded the nation's industries, shifting them from the home to the factory, and creating crowded centres of activity with their questions of labour and wages. Notwithstanding that Japan is primarily an agricultural country, the nation is now forced to lay increasing stress on commerce and industry, to the comparative neglect of agrarian interests, in order to supply the revenue necessary to maintain an ambitious armament programme; and the result is an abnormal rush of population to the cities, creating conditions anything but favourable to health and efficiency. Thus the changes that took a hundred years to be accomplished in Europe, Japan has undergone in the memory of people now living; and the phenomenal celerity of the revolution has naturally given rise to problems still more intensive and acute, commanding a foremost place in the councils of her statesmen and all who are interested in the future of the country.

1. Rapid Growth of Cities

As in other countries, so in Japan, the dominant characteristic of the new industrialism is the trend of popula-

tion from rural to urban districts, for the city is the main sphere of industrial activity. This abnormal expansion of urban population is almost revolutionary in its effect on Japanese society. In the case of Tokyo, the capital, population during the last twenty-five years has increased from 900,000 to nearly 3,000,000; while Osaka, the greatest industrial centre in the empire, during the same period has grown from 500,000 to 1,750,000; Nagoya from 200,000 to 450,000; and Yokohama and Kobé have increased about five-fold. The five largest industrial centres above mentioned have thus increased about 325 per cent, or some 300 per cent more than the nation as a whole. For Tokyo alone the growth of industrial population has been about 415 per cent in the last decade or more. The great earthquake in 1923, which destroyed two-thirds of the capital, reduced the nation's industrial output by 20 per cent. The transformation of Tokyo from an official capital to a great industrial centre has been nothing short of marvellous. Great areas, which ten years ago were taken up with rice-fields or marshes, are now reclaimed and covered with factories or labour tenements, and property values at the same time have gone up over 1,000 per cent. Osaka, Kobé and Yokohama have had much the same experience. The five cities named above may be fairly taken as focal points to reveal the metamorphosis of Japan from an agricultural age to an age of steam, electricity and steel.

2. Japan Necessarily Industrial

The extraordinary development of industrialism in Japan is neither accidental nor temporary. Situated like Great Britain on the shoulders of a continent, Japan occupies a position of unique commercial advantage. In her own ships she can move the products of her own factories to any port along the extensive coast-line of China and far up that country's endless waterways, at lower rates and with

greater expedition than any of her competitors. Without sufficient resources of her own in iron, cotton and other raw materials essential to national progress, Japan early realized, in her contact with Western nations, that to keep up a balance of trade, and husband specie, she must vastly improve and increase her industrial capacity and lay hold upon the markets of China, where the unlimited iron resources of Eastern Asia lie still unexploited; and now Japan has been drawn so far into the race for industrial supremacy in the Far East that her system has invaded every country, and her merchant marine are placing her products in every market, on the Pacific. Japan believes that her future as a World Power depends on her ability to hold and extend the markets she has won. Having entered on the path of empire, Japan cannot draw back. To her the expansion of commerce and industry is not an academic but the most vital of all questions. The future of Japan depends not on her *bushido*, her statesmen or her financial magnates, nor even on her naval and military strength, but on her factory workers.

3. Some Serious Aspects

Japan's sudden leap from feudalism to free labour, and from a rural to an urban population, has created contrasts that gravely menace each other. The transformed, overgrown cities and towns are like separate nations in the midst of a rural people who have not changed with the times at all. There is a great gulf between the life and environment of the peasant villager and the denizen of a congested commercial and industrial centre. The thousands of peasants that pour into the great industrial centres every year find themselves in a wholly new world. In the space of one day the old restraints of family, religion and society, that hitherto moulded and steadied the life of the villager, are removed, and the individual finds himself up against

a huge, soulless machine where the forces of capital and greed hold the whip hand. Into this machine, more merciless than the same sort of thing in occidental lands, the worker must merge or be crushed. And, to make the situation worse, the power of the Japanese peasant to understand his new environment, or to adjust himself to his new social order, is extremely limited. But whether he understands or not, he must be prepared to have himself treated as a unit of less value and importance than the material product on which he works.

4. Labour Conditions

Under the temptation to criticize the only too-primitive labour conditions prevailing in Japan, it is well to remember that time may allow the new population now flowing into Japanese cities to find itself socially and economically; and, further, to allow the wealthier classes of Japan to realize their responsibility for the conditions and needs of their expanding cities. But as yet there is small evidence of any public conscience able to perceive the close connexion between uplift and conservation of labour and the permanence and efficiency of the nation's industrial power. Even factory owners in Japan, as a rule, fail to see that there is a direct relation between the care accorded the human machine and its working output. Young men and women, suddenly removed from the fresh air and healthful surroundings of country life to the usually foul atmosphere of factories, and the low, damp beds and poor food of the industrial centres, soon undergo physical and mental deterioration. Long hours of toil amid unsanitary conditions lead to contagion and disease. Few constitutions are able to endure the strain of standing from 12 to 16 hours a day at high-powered machines. The unhygienic conditions under which so many Japanese factory girls have to work are especially bad, while the over-

crowding of dormitories and the use of child labour but increase the danger. Nearly 500,000 workers, recruited from the healthiest blood of the country, annually pour themselves into the polluted conditions of factory life, many of whom never return.

The results are particularly disastrous to women and children. The predominance of women is a striking feature of Japanese labour, most of them surprisingly young and immature. There are 28,000,000 women in Japan, and of these more than half are employed at either whole- or part-time work. Eight millions are engaged in agriculture, and 1,250,000 in factories. Indeed 60 per cent of all factory workers are women, and in some lines of industry the proportion to men runs much higher ; as, for example, in cotton mills, where women form 80 per cent of the operatives ; and 70 per cent of the labour in the raw silk industry, and the same percentage in the tobacco factories. And of the children employed in Japanese factories 80 per cent are little girls. Of all these women employed in factories more than 300,000 are under 20 years of age. In raw silk mills the work averages between 13 and 14 hours a day, and in the weaving mills from 14 to 18 hours a day. The hands in the spinning mills have to take night work every other week. The week ending the night-shift always shows a loss of weight in the girls, and ultimately wrecks their health. Few can go on longer than a year, when desertion, illness or death affords relief. The statistics show that some 80 per cent of the workers leave the mills annually, their places being taken by new recruits. These are collected to the number of 300,000 annually by agents going through the country and bargaining for them with poor parents. The girls on the night-shift sleep in the same beds as those on day work ; beds thus never getting a chance to be aired or cleaned, and consequently are nests of bacteria. The most prevalent disease is tuberculosis.

5. Moral Dangers

Nor are the moral dangers of the Japanese worker less than those menacing his physical condition. Housing is congestive in the extreme, leading to moral no less than bodily deterioration. As for factory girls, they are usually housed in such compounds as have already been mentioned, where they are exposed not only to physical but to moral deterioration. In the industrial centres the houses are usually too small, and the smallest often contains more than one family of five or more persons each, all jumbled together in one room where decency of life is almost impossible. Many of the poor families take lodgers, who sleep with the family on the same floor. A Japanese factory expert has affirmed that in some factories it is not uncommon for more than half the girls to lose their virtue in a year. The long hours leave the workers so weary that any sort of excitement is welcome, and consequently vicious pleasures and pastimes are encouraged and common. The most usual amusements are drinking, gambling and sensuality. Thus the youths and maidens from wholesome country homes are suddenly separated from the moral restrictions of innocency and childhood and plunged into immoral conditions, where they lose self-respect and health, and where death is often a happy relief.

Something might also be said of the moral effect of turning away from hand-made products to machinery, from art to artificiality, from conscience and idealism to expediency and wages, with a consequent stunting of individuality and ideals. Moreover, the constant shifting of hands, on account of illness or injustice or breach of contract, renders maintenance of highly skilled labour difficult. In some factories when a worker becomes too familiar with skilled processes he is considered dangerous and removed to another department.

6. Rights of Labour

The Japanese labourer enjoys no political rights, and of others he possesses but few. He has no vote, because his wages are too low, as a rule, to call for the 3-yen tax necessary to the franchise, and so he has no way of controlling or improving the conditions under which he has to work, save by agitation. He has to accept the decision of his employers as to hours, safety devices, health provision, wages and all the usual details of labour, without question, though a Factory Act of recent operation may slightly modify this statement in respect to hours and safety. Owing to the influence of the Labour Bureau in connexion with the League of Nations the Japanese have agreed to modernize their labour system with regard to hours of labour, especially for women, and recently those in a delicate condition, as well as children, have been prohibited employment between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m.

At present no more than 10 per cent of the men of Japan are entitled to the franchise; and of this proportion, numbering in all about 2,800,000, only 153,000 live in cities and have any chance to experience or influence industrial life. As labour unions after occidental models are prohibited by law, and the labourer has no way of appealing to public opinion, except by strikes, which also are prohibited and severely dealt with, labour is placed almost wholly at the mercy of capital, and often has to submit to increased cost of living without a corresponding rise in wages. All who induce, or even incite, strikes are put in prison for six months, with a heavy fine.

Conditions seem all the harsher, seeing that the Japanese worker is usually not illiterate, more than 80 per cent being able to read and write; and over 90 per cent of the children of labourers are at school. The Japanese toiler not only reads the newspapers, but takes considerable interest in the public questions of the day. The sources of knowledge

being thus open to him, he is not likely to submit much longer to the contrasts between his lot and that of his fellow workmen in occidental countries. It is, therefore, quite improbable that the labourers of Japan will remain content to create the nation's wealth without receiving a larger share of the opportunities of life and the benefits of civilization. Education without rights, knowledge without opportunity, is like generation of steam in a flask, a dangerous experiment.

For what interest has been created in the rights of labour in Japan the labourer is largely indebted to occidental organizations. In the past Japan has not figured as a very important factor in the labour movement, from a Western point of view. To the average economist as well as worker in occidental lands Japanese labour has seemed a thing apart, deserving, perhaps, a degree of consideration, but unappreciably affecting the great labour world as a whole. Cheapness and inefficiency were supposed to preclude the output of Japanese labour from seriously competing with the products of foreign labour. But the recent progress of Japanese industry, having begun to affect the world's supply and demand, is at last arousing interest abroad, and already representatives of Japanese labour have been conferring with labour organizations in America and England.

7. Labour Unions Prohibited

It is Japan's unique if questionable distinction to have no labour or trade unions in the occidental sense; but, from what has already been said, it is clear that this is not because labour in Japan needs no amelioration. While labour unions are prohibited by the authorities, a society known as the *Yuaikai*, or Labourers' Friendly Society, has been tolerated, and is doing what it can to create an intelligent interest in labour as well as to improve the conditions of the

working man. Founded in 1912 the Society already has a membership of some 40,000, mostly in Tokyo. For a monthly fee of 10 sen members receive legal and medicinal advice, may hear lectures on social and personal hygiene, domestic economy, and secure participation in a co-operative supply union, and also find an authorized medium to ventilate grievances. Speaking generally, Japan has no social settlements for the improvement of conditions among the poorer classes of the city, but a few under Christian missionary auspices have been started and are doing good work. What the Japanese labourer wants, however, is not charity, but his rights, such as are enjoyed in all free and progressive countries. Given these, he is as well able to take care of himself as the worker of any other country.

It must be admitted with disappointment that, so far, the labour movement in Japan has not met with much public sympathy or encouragement, and none from officialdom. With the diffusion of liberal and philanthropic ideas, following the introduction of Western civilization and intercourse with occidental nations, it was hoped that labour would receive due attention and be accorded its rights. Leaders like Count Itagaki endeavoured to circulate newer ideas of freedom, but his propaganda was checked by his attempted assassination. Later the labour movement in England and the United States began to find echoes in Japan under the leadership of Sen Katayama, Professor Abé and others who had studied abroad, and on their return started a movement for the reform of labour conditions at home. Books like Bellamy's *Looking Backward* and Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* and General Booth's *Darkest England* were eagerly read and labour unions after the Western type were talked of; but in their zeal the leaders made the mistake of attempting to graft occidental institutions unmodified into the radically different social body of Japan. As time went on the movement divided into what might be called an evolutionary

and revolutionary trend that proved fatal; for the evolutionist sided with socialism, and the revolutionist with anarchy. Through books, papers and public speeches Katayama led an aggressive propaganda for aggressive socialism, while the other wing, under guise of a coterie called the social democrats led by Kotoku, urged the most radical and alarming measures. On his return from abroad Kotoku finally became an advocate of anarchist doctrines, and in 1910 he, with twenty-six others, was involved in a conspiracy against the Emperor, when the whole lot were condemned to death. Of the conspirators thirteen had their sentences commuted to imprisonment for life, and Kotoku, his wife and the remaining eleven were executed. This was a tremendous blow to the labour movement, as subsequently it became associated in the public mind with disloyalty and principles dangerous to the nation; which was just what its opponents desired for its overthrow. Suspicion of the labour movement has since continued, and, during the suspension of law and order during the recent earthquake in Japan, occasion was seized by rabid patriots to assassinate the leaders of socialism and labour.

At present the regulations in reference to socialism and anarchic doctrines are unprecedentedly rigorous. All the authorities have to do, in order to destroy any new movement, is to brand it with the feared and hated name of socialism. Even a hint in this direction is sufficient to make most Japanese fly from it in terror. Labour unions are included in the regulations affecting socialism and anarchy, which is sufficient to give them the quietus. Nevertheless, there are many socialists still in Japan, some of them in labour circles, as well as among some young men of the middle class, but they can find no vent for expression. Thus, all the preparation that Katayama made for organization of labour unions among the iron workers, typographers, street-car men, shipbuilders, miners and railway men seems to have melted into nothing. And the severe

attitude displayed after the earthquake disaster toward socialists and labour leaders is some indication of popular sentiment.

The general attitude of State authority, as well as of capitalism in Japan, is opposed to labour unions. The majority of employers of labour in Japan hold tenaciously to the old feudal conception of the master's right to force his will on the labourer without consent or conference. To recognize the rights of labour, as understood abroad, is regarded in Japan as both inconvenient and uneconomic. There are a few capitalists, however, who realize that the rights of labour must ultimately be considered and recognized, as such a day cannot be warded off by compromise. Some employers of labour in Japan already show an interest in promoting the comfort and welfare of workers, as good for industry no less than for labour. Not all the cotton mills are as indifferent to the interests of their operatives as those mentioned in the previous section of this chapter. The Kanegafuchi Spinning Company is an example of capital making due provision for the health and recreation of operatives.

But the Japanese capitalists, as a class, are indifferent to labour interests and even labour questions; while the universities are more concerned with the economic than the human aspect of labour.

8. Frequency of Strikes

Meanwhile strikes, and labour disputes generally, are remarkably on the increase. Though strikes are illegal, they are yet the only resource labour distress has: hence their frequency. Unlike strikes in occidental countries, such an episode in Japan usually means riot and violence. In recent years the unrest of labour has become acutely serious. Intimidation is no longer able to suppress industrial agitation, and it is apparent that the struggle be-

tween capital and labour has at last begun. In the last few years the most serious strikes have occurred in such industries as steel, iron, dockyards, weaving and spinning. In some instances the situation was so menacing as to require the calling out of the troops to restore order. Very few strikes, however, have won the object for which the strike was brought about.

Between 1897 and 1902 Japan had 127 strikes, involving more than 20,000 workers, of which 57, representing some 8,000 labourers, were partially successful. Between 1908 and 1911 there were 68 strikes more or less futile. Between 1912 and 1915 as many as 146 strikes occurred, involving some 20,000 men, but to no satisfactory end. In 1916 there were 108 strikes, affecting some 9,000 men, while in 1918 as many as 2,000 strikes took place, owing to conditions created by the European War. The main cause of most of these strikes was the refusal of a demand for higher wages and better treatment of workers, which is doubtless an echo of the recent increased cost of living without a corresponding rise in wages. It is the general belief in economic circles that strikes will remain a feature of Japanese labour until it receives due recognition.

9. Wages

To arrive at any degree of accuracy as to wages in Japan is not easy, as wages are usually secret, and are in constant fluctuation. On the whole it may safely be said that the wage scale is far below that of Western countries. Taking cotton mills as an example, the wage per 1,000 spindles managed by one operative in the United States is twice the amount paid to five operatives for the same work in Japan. In England a bricklayer gets a wage three times as high as he gets in Japan; a carpenter also three times; a printer six times; a smith four times and a compositor five times as much as in Japan. It is calculated that the

average Japanese family cannot live on less than 30 yen a month; but since many families get much less than that it is difficult to see how some subsist, but often wife and children add something to the monthly income. As the majority of Japanese live on rice three times a day the year round, the fare is fairly cheap, but they must be more or less underfed. The average annual income of the Japanese labourer is four times less than in England; and women always get less than men by about one-quarter. In factories the average male operative gets about 60 sen a day (15*d.*), and the average female gets about 40 sen (10*d.*), while the day labourer of Japan gets about 70 sen (18*d.*), which is some 13 sen more than was paid five years ago.

So long as female labour constitutes the principle of factory economy in Japan, it is difficult to expect much improvement in conditions or wages. It has already been mentioned that over 80 per cent of the factory labour is done by women, which include 100,000 girls under 15 years old, and over 2,000 less than 12 years of age. The predominance of female labour in the factory life of Japan tends to retard organization and improvement of labour, for the Japanese woman worker is practically non-assertive under a master; and capital has its own way. Furthermore, in spite of the rapid increase of urban population, Japan is still for the most part a land of small factories, concentration of industry being yet in the nascent stage. Of more than 1,000,000 hands employed, the vast majority are in factories where only from five to ten operatives are employed. Nearly all the silk mills are run on a small scale, cotton mills being practically the only ones employing large numbers of workers in one place. Domestic industries and small manufactures predominate. So long, therefore, as female labour continues to dominate the situation, and industry remains distributed in small factories, labour will fail to exercise any potent influence on public opinion.

As has already been shown, where labour has begun to concentrate to any extent disaffection is pronounced and labour disturbances are common.

The rapid development now going on in all spheres of economic activity in Japan, especially in manufacturing industries, must soon cause a still greater concentration of industry, as well as a more menacing condition of social life in industrial centres. As conflicts between capital and labour acquire greater frequency and intensity, organization for the mutual adjustment of differences will be admitted, and labour will attain greater freedom and better treatment. But the forces in the opposite direction are strong and stubborn. The relatively large number of hands employed by the Government in its monopoly system, its offices and bureaux, its railways, post, telegraph and telephone offices, further militates against the organization of labour, while the persistence of the apprentice system in trades still further restricts the freedom of the worker. Owing to the fear of trade unionism being forced on the country, in view of the increasing number of strikes, an organization was promoted by capitalists known as the *Kyochokai*, or Harmonization Society, for arbitrating disputes between capital and labour, but it cannot be said to have done much towards the object of its existence.

In speaking of the attitude of the Government toward labour, a leading Japanese professor has said: "The Government is stupidly shortsighted in keeping the labourers crippled by refusing to let them organize, and trying to make amends by giving them crutches in the form of insurance and factory laws." Owing to the aggressive unrest of Japanese labour in recent years the authorities have been forced to adopt a few measures of remedial legislation, which, though late and decidedly defective, are yet better than nothing. The Factory Act passed in 1911 was not enforced until the authorities were compelled by menacing conditions to do so in 1916. The Act is

palpably imperfect and will doubtless be improved, as it seems to favour the employer at the expense of the worker. As it applies only to factories of fifteen hands or over, the majority of establishments will escape its remedial provisions. In principle the Act prohibits the employment of children under 12 years of age in factories, but exceptions are easy. Persons under 12 years of age, and women in a delicate condition, are regarded as protected workers, and not allowed to work over 12 hours a day, nor between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m., but this provision has, as has been said above, not been enforced until recently under the influence of the Labour Section of the League of Nations. As the enforcement of such provisions is left wholly to mutual agreement between factory inspectors and employers, it is doubtful how far enforcement will be carried out. The Act obliges factory owners to assist the families of those killed in factory accidents, and provides for the proper dismissal of employees and apprentices and for the appointment of factory superintendents. Responsibility for enforcement of the Factory Act rests with the governors of the various prefectures, and some twenty-one inspectors have been appointed to assist them in this duty. Labour at Government factories is under better conditions than in private establishments. An insurance scheme for operatives at Government factories is proving beneficial, but is hardly comprehensive enough. On the whole it may be said that the Japanese labourer has yet to fight the battle that has been fought and won in occidental countries.

CHAPTER X

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

THE Japanese must be accounted warriors from the days of their first appearance as conquerors of the isles of Nippon ; and consistently the first thousand years of their history, in settlement of the archipelago, seems to have been mainly a period of strife, either with the opposing aborigines or with succeeding migrations from the continent. That the early Yamato race was highly skilled in the art of war there is no doubt, since it had no great difficulty in enforcing occupation of the land, the southerners under Jimmu Tenno proving the more dauntless of the various tribes.

It must be assumed that most of the military tactics and weapons of old Japan had their origin in China, whence the nation derived its other arts. In the national records of ancient matters one reads that in the year A.D. 760 soldiers were sent to Kyushu to study the science of warfare under a military instructor named Kibi Makibi, who in turn had made a study of Chinese tactics, the lessons learned being taken chiefly from books prepared by Chinese strategists. The Imperial Court usually kept a teacher of Chinese strategy ; and there is mention of the custom of ascertaining the whereabouts of enemy troops by the behaviour of birds, especially wild geese, by means of which enemies in the past had been detected and defeated. This scrap of history is quite in harmony with Japanese tradition that the race descended from warriors who became the ancestors of great military families, most prominent among which was the

Imperial Family itself. Tradition asserts that the Empress Jingo in A.D. 200 led an expedition in person to Korea to subdue refractory kingdoms there, which had been stirring up insurrection in Yamato. During the sixth and seventh centuries there appears to have been much attention devoted to the question of national defence, and guards of the Court and of the national frontiers were established. In A.D. 661 the Emperor Tenshi issued instructions for regulating the national army, in preparation for an encounter with China. In 701 it seems that the Imperial forces were divided into corps, each consisting of 1,000 soldiers; and at the same time a cavalry section was organized, and all the Court families were obliged to lend themselves to the movement. Under the Emperor Konin in 780 conscription took a definite form, when every able-bodied man was compelled to fight, the incompetents being left to work the land. From this time began that military class distinction based on fighting qualities, which has ever since characterized the Japanese. The military power thus created brought about a long period of peace, which in turn resulted in luxury and effeminacy that reacted unfavourably on the nation. In many places finally the spirit of mere defence gave way to a spirit of plunder and rebellion, and the integrity of the nation could only be restored and upheld by a military class. With the consequent rise of great feudal families the army became decentralized; and for a time military power continued to be associated with the Taira and the Minamoto families. The long dissension between these great military clans and their vassals, during the Middle Ages of Japan, kept the country in intermittent strife for centuries; and ultimately with the triumph of the Minamoto clan, and its establishment of a military dictatorship at Kamakura in 1192, the indomitable fighting spirit was conserved and handed on to future generations.

These extended periods of ancient warfare in Japan were for the most part under the inspiration of Chinese methods

of fighting, though we may be sure such sturdy warriors as the Japanese had early begun to develop their own devices. Up to the ninth century it was a principle of native tactics to attack always at night or early in the morning; which well suited the national disposition and temperament. This practice was undoubtedly continued all through the civil wars of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was indeed seldom that forces of any considerable strength met on the open plains or even in valleys, as the Japanese warrior never acquitted himself so well under such circumstances. In the warfare of ancient times battles were sometimes decided by contest of individual prowess, not unlike what one sees traces of in Britain during the age of chivalry. Somewhat after the manner of Goliath facing young David, a Japanese general would stalk out in front of his forces and challenge a representative of the enemy to single combat. The challenging hero stood erect between the opposing hosts, and in stentorian tones recited his lineage and military achievements: it was the only moment in a samurai's life when he was free to boast, demanding a man of equal family and martial attainments on the enemy's side to be pitted against him. As a rule the challenge was promptly accepted. In a similar manner a hero from the enemy ranks would step forward and proclaim his family history and his own deeds of prowess in former battles. There stood the two warriors face to face amid the intense silence and suspense of the assembled troops. At once the duel began. It was nothing if not fierce, a battle to the death. One of the combatants fallen, another was ready to step in; and after two or three of such contests, the spirit of the spectators was up, and one side or the other refused to wait longer, and so the ranks closed in on one another with fearful carnage. It was seldom, however, that the entire forces on both sides participated, as the strategists preferred to depend on a night attack for the final result.

1. Medieval Tactics

Through the Middle Ages two schools of tacticians developed in Japan, chiefly under the impetus of the civil wars already mentioned. The one was known as the Echigo system, of which the celebrated warrior Uyesugi Kenshin was the exponent ; and the other was called the Koshu tactics, elaborated by one of the most famous enemies of Kenshin, named Tadeda Shingen. The Echigo tactics involved a rapid movement of troops and the springing of disconcerting surprises on the enemy, as may be seen from a careful study of the plan adopted at the noted battle of Kawanakajima. The Koshu tacticians, on the other hand, aimed at placing their troops in strategic positions, and insisted on pressing a steady frontal attack with a fight to the finish. The latter way came to be regarded by the majority of soldiers as the more scientific, and for a considerable time it prevailed among the leading clansmen at arms. Succeeding warriors of renown further elaborated the Koshu system, each giving the new development his own name ; and so we have mention of the Obata tactics, the Kagemori tactics, the Honjo Ujimasa method, and the popular tactics of Yamaga Soko.

Of course the introduction of guns and modern weapons completely changed the army system of old Japan. The bowman and the lancer had small chance before Western musket and cannon. The introduction of occidental methods obliged the complete rearrangement of the line of battle. The musketeers were now placed in front, with the archers behind and the spearmen in the rear, each under a special officer ; the muskets were discharged, the bowmen delivered their shafts and emptied their quivers, and the spearmen then closed in on the struggling forces, while the musketeers and archers prepared for a second onslaught. Thus the arrival of Portuguese and Spanish, with European arms and ammunition, in the middle of the

sixteenth century, completely revolutionized the military tactics of Japan.

The first firearm ever seen in Japan was a musket presented to the daimyo of Higo by a Portuguese merchant in the year 1551. Thence onwards the making of ordnance in Japan became common. It was not, however, until 1660 that the various feudal lords seriously determined to use foreign firearms, and the foreign instructors were engaged. In that year Honjo Masafusa, a celebrated soldier of the day, took lessons in military tactics, and the use of occidental war weapons, from a Dutch officer, special emphasis being laid on the use of cannon. Some time later the governor of Nagasaki brought with him another Dutchman to Osaka and Yedo to teach European military science.

The way in which the military authorities became interested in the use of European ordnance is picturesquely related by the native historians of the Japanese army. When a Dutch officer, who had come to Japan with a ship of the Dutch East India Company, was shown the walls of Osaka castle, he was expected to be much impressed by their impregnable appearance. But to the amazement of the Japanese he only laughed and said " bom-bom, bom-bom." The governor of the castle finally was able to understand that the Dutchman meant to say that such walls would soon crumble to pieces before European cannon. After this the Japanese set about a careful study of ordnance, and soon equipped themselves with big guns of their own. The authorities at Nagasaki, being more in touch with the Dutch, knew more of Western defences, and in 1818 memorialized the central government to secure modern military equipment, and especially that the existing castles should be replaced by more invincible fortresses. Shuhan Takashima, the leader in this movement, was thrown into prison for his presumption in thus daring to instruct the shogunate ; but the invasion of the Kurile Islands by Russia, and the increasing appearance of foreign warships in

Japanese waters soon showed the authorities that something should be done to ensure national defence. Some time later a young officer named Enomoto Buyo, afterwards destined to play an important part in the nation's history, went to Holland to study naval and military science, while Count Katsu took lessons from Dutch officers at Nagasaki. Such was about the sum-total of Japan's knowledge of modern war at the beginning of the Meiji period, though no doubt there had been more experiment and progress than is recorded. In Nagasaki there is set up on a pedestal on the water front a large iron ball, more than 2 feet in diameter. It is said by some that this is the sole remainder of shots that were used in ancient times. Some military genius of old Japan conceived the idea of defending the port of Nagasaki from the intrusion of foreign ships by excavating a deep hole in the side of a lofty hill, the hole lined with heavy timber to form a sort of howitzer gun, which could be charged with powder and then loaded with the heavy ball. The enemy would be driven to a certain spot in the harbour where the angle of the gun would drop the huge shot, thus penetrating the ship's deck and perhaps its bottom by sheer weight.

As to recruiting, it may be said that after the army decentralization caused by the rise of the feudal system, every daimyo had his own military organization; but among most of them it was the rule to take one-fourth of all the men between the ages of 20 and 40 for training as soldiers, while the other three-quarters of this class were obliged to provide themselves with armour and weapons so as to be in readiness for war when called up in emergency. As the army was then constituted, 50 men formed a band, and 500 men a company, either infantry or cavalry, each with its captain. Two such companies were a corps; and the troops numbering 20,000 had 1 general, 1 lieutenant-general and 2 commissioned officers. This system was kept up until the tenth century; but as the daimyo had become

more and more independent they often followed their own devices, until ultimately all semblance of military uniformity was lost. The chief weapons used in war up to the time of modernization were the bow and arrow, the spear and halberd, with shields of two sizes, a small one for fighting and a large one for protection in camp. These large shields were used to form a wall between an army encampment and a sneaking enemy.

2. The Army To-day

With the abdication of the shogun in 1868 the supreme command over all the naval and military forces of the empire reverted to the Emperor. The expeditious manner in which the men of Satsuma and Choshu overthrew the opponents of the new régime showed that, even at that time, Japan possessed warriors of no mean skill and prowess. The Naval and Military Bureau organized in the first year of Meiji soon evolved into the Bureau of National Defence, which in time became the War Office. As the new national army consisted of the various heterogeneous forces formerly under command of the feudal lords, it represented anything but a mobile unit of defence ; and so the French military system was at first adopted, with the hope of producing some show of uniformity and cohesion. Regular bodies of infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineering corps were organized, including an Imperial bodyguard. A garrison was stationed in Tokyo for the protection of the northern provinces, another in Osaka for the security of the western provinces, while other garrison detachments were posted at certain strategic points. Thus in a remarkably short time great improvements were brought about in the military system of the country.

With the abolition of feudalism, the disappearance of clan troops and the introduction of a national conscription system in 1871, a most drastic transformation was accom-

plished. The military profession, which for centuries had been a monopoly of the samurai, was flung open to every male citizen of the empire, irrespective of class or clan. In 1873 the nation was divided into six military districts, with centres at Sendai, Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima and Kumamoto, at all of which garrisons were stationed. The men recruited by conscription went into battle with the clan troops for the first time in the Satsuma rebellion in 1877; and they proved themselves equal in every way to the veteran soldiers of the feudal days, beside whom many of them now fought. In 1878 the War Office was reorganized with the aim of further improving the military system of the country, and a General Staff was appointed for the supervision of national defence as well as strategy, and a superintending inspector's office was established for general military inspection and improvement of ordnance.

From the year 1882 onward Japan began to realize more and more the necessity of stronger armaments if a balance of power was to be maintained in Eastern Asia; and from that time her military forces have been augmented year by year. The nation's system of military command, her military schools, army organization, training, accounts, sanitation and all other essential functions, were completely remodelled, chiefly after the German system, as that country had, in Japan's opinion, proved superior to France in the war of 1870. In 1884 Generals Oyama, Kakwakami and Katsura went to Europe to make a thorough study of the Prussian military system, and brought back with them a German officer, General Mickel, who put the Japanese army through its Prussian drill, and was the tutor of most of the leading Japanese army officers of to-day.

As time passed it became increasingly evident to Japan that she must concentrate expenditure on means of national defence and offence. Indeed, everything was directed

towards that great military effort which culminated in the war with China in 1894. For the previous ten years army reorganization had been steadily and thoroughly proceeding under the direction of German instruction. A military staff college had been established, the military academies were extended and the army medical college was improved. Non-commissioned officers were trained to qualify for commissions, and the whole system of army uniform and drill was revised. Even as far back as 1888 garrisons had been organized as units complete with infantry, cavalry, artillery, railway corps and colonial militia, ready for service overseas. And by 1893 Japan had established sixteen military schools, attended by 2,602 students with hundreds of thousands of young recruits under drill; and so in 1894 she was ready to oppose China with an army of more than 240,000 trained men, with 6,495 irregulars and 100,000 coolies. Further reforms were introduced during the war with a view to making the army more mobile, and to defend more efficiently the outposts of the empire. Moreover, Japan's association with the European troops during the Boxer trouble in China in 1900 gave her many new ideas concerning ammunition and armaments; and improvements and expansion of the Imperial Army went on steadily up till the war with Russia, the results of which we know.

After the Russo-Japanese War the military leaders of Japan became deeply impressed with the need of further army expansion; and Prince Yamagata memorialized the Throne suggesting that the armed forces of the nation should be increased by 25 divisions, and the navy to 2 squadrons of 8 dreadnaughts and 4 battle-cruisers each, with cruiser squadrons and ample flotillas to match. The Emperor quite agreed with the suggestion, and the military authorities had only to await the necessary funds to carry the new programme into effect. The army that opposed and triumphed over Russia consisted of 13 divisions, 4 other divisions having been provisionally organized during the

war ; but in 1907, two years after the restoration of peace, we find the Japanese army with 6 new divisions fully organized, making a total army strength of 19 divisions, or 100,000 more men than before. At the time of Japan's conflict with Russia her available military forces were 600,000 fighting men ; two years after the war these had expanded to some 2,000,000 men. In 1914 the Government sanctioned the addition of two more army divisions, to be stationed in Korea, one of which was promptly organized ; and at present the army of Japan is equal to 32 army divisions, with about 1,000,000 men on a war-footing, and many more than that in reserve. Japan believes the greatest preventive of war is ample and thorough preparation.

Here the question naturally arises as to why Japan is so intent on military expansion. Before the European War the hypothetical objective was undoubtedly Russia, as Japan had the conviction that the Northern Power was some day sure to return and try to retrieve her losses and humiliation suffered in Manchuria, and the Japanese Army should be of sufficient strength to discourage this. Japan's interests in Manchuria and China, being vital to her destiny, must be preserved and guarded at all costs. During the European War, however, Japan and Russia arrived at a special understanding as to mutual spheres of interest in China, and now Japan's potential objective is supposed to be elsewhere, as Russia has in the meantime collapsed as an international force, though still capable of creating some concern in Eastern Asia. There is no doubt that any force, no matter whence it proceeds, that interferes with Japan's progress in China will have to face the displeasure of Japan. The naval expansion of Japan has been somewhat retarded by the reduction of armaments agreed upon at the Washington Conference of 1921 ; but army expansion and perfection is promoted to the full limit of Japan's financial capacity.

3. Recruiting

In Japan military service is personal, universal and obligatory upon every citizen between the ages of 17 and 40. Out of a population of some 57,000,000 in Japan proper, the number of youths who annually reach the age of conscription is about 450,000; but since no more than about 270,000 of these are found physically fit for army service the task of increasing the military forces of the nation to the 32 divisions aimed at is not so easy. The most common causes of failure to qualify for army service are venereal diseases and the eye affection known as trachoma, the next most common defects being low stature and general debility. Defective physique proved most common in the years when those born during the years of the wars with China and Russia came of age. The number of Japanese recruits above 5 feet 6 inches in stature does not reach more than 11,000 a year, while more than 50,000 are less than 5 feet. The number of recruits above 5·3 feet in stature is about 323 per thousand. The military authorities report the eagerness with which recruits enter the army; but desertions number about 1,000 a year, mostly privates, 38 per cent of which are said to be due to dislike of military service, and the rest to cruelty. The penalties for desertion are so severe, however, that it would be a mistake to estimate the popularity of the service by the number remaining loyal to it. One frequently hears of cases where the body has been mutilated so as to prevent being conscripted, and many soldiers commit suicide rather than endure the trials and alleged cruelties often endured. The custom of drilling and marching men in the hottest weather results in frequent cases of sunstroke and even death, and indicates a desire to weed out of the army all unable to endure such strain, however cruel the process. Of the 270,000 men annually qualified for conscription, about 120,000 are drafted and 150,000 left as reserves to be called up at

any time. The numbers above indicated cannot be enlarged at present without lowering the efficiency of the service.

The conscript is called up during the year which follows that in which he reaches the age of 20. Recruits are divided into three grades after being drafted; and the number desired is drawn by lot from the highest grade. The only exceptions allowed under the conscription law are for an only son where the parent is over 60 years of age and incompetent to support himself or herself. Lads registered as pupils at schools of certain grades may have military service postponed until their studies at such schools are finished, but the age of postponement must not exceed 28. There are reports of youths registering at schools and colleges merely to escape conscription, even though they do not attend classes there, and some schools thus get fees, without giving instruction, from such pupils. There is also a service of one year for scholars and upper-class people who, after putting in the year's military service in sections from time to time, are registered in the reserve service with the rank of non-commissioned officer. These have to pay their own expenses while in barracks. Recruits drafted into the annual contingent have to pass two whole years with the colours in the case of infantry, and three years in the case of other arms. They then belong to the *yobi*, or reserve of the active army until the age of 27, after which they become *kobi* or *landwehr* for ten years until reaching the age of 37, from which time until 40 they are ranked as *kokumin* or *landsturm*. The service is thus divided into an active reserve of two years for infantry, three for cavalry and engineers, a reserve service of four years, and a depot service of ten years, covering in all a period of seventeen years, beginning at the age of 20. The Japanese army is further expanded by what is known as the *ersatz* system, by which men are trained for a period of 90 days in the first year, 60 in the second and third years, the candidates

serving as a reserve of recruiting and enabling the waste in each annual draft to be made good. The *ersatz* belong to the active and reserve forces until the age of 27, when they become territorials. As for the *landsturm*, it includes all youths between the ages of 17 and 20, as well as all up to the age of 40 classed as good for service, or excused from service for reasons other than physical unfitness. This category, which is usually untrained, forms a sort of reservoir of something over 3,000,000 men who can be drawn upon at any time in case of emergency, but need not be considered in the nation's effective force.

The organization of the recruiting territory is based upon that of the divisional unit. Each army division has an area of country allotted to it, from which it draws its recruits in peace-time and its reserves on mobilization. There are some eighteen divisional districts, the divisions detached in Korea and Manchuria retaining their districts in Japan. The Imperial Guards alone are recruited from the whole empire. In each divisional district the country is divided up into infantry, brigade, regimental and battalion areas. Other forces are recruited from the divisional district as a whole or from appointed portions of it, while some troops are allotted special or larger areas. Formosa has a special garrison, as have also Tsushima, Saghalien and the other colonies. The total number of troops quartered outside of Japan are the divisions in Korea and some 40,000 other troops, including 10,000 railway guards, in Manchuria.

The peace strength of the Japanese army is now some 275,000 men, including some 16,000 higher officers and 28,000 non-commissioned officers; and the first line of defence easily musters 600,000 strong, including 260,000 reservists; while the total fighting force at Japan's immediate disposal in case of need is not less than 2,000,000 men.

4. Army Organization

The Japanese army is at present being remodelled into 32 divisions. A division is somewhat uncertain in composition at present, as the system is in process of reorganization. It has been decided to reorganize the division on a 4-regiment basis and to abolish the brigade. The experiences of the European War and the results of army manœuvres have led to this decision. An army corps will now consist of 2 divisions totalling 6 regiments, and when completed there will be 32 such divisions organized on a 3-regiment basis, and equal to 16 army corps. To understand these figures it is necessary to remember that reorganization is turning the old 22 divisions into 32 on the new basis. Under the new system the division will consist of 3 regiments of infantry, 1 regiment of cavalry, 1 regiment of artillery and 1 battalion of engineers and army service corps. Each regiment of infantry consists of 4 battalions of 600 men each, while a regiment of cavalry has 4 squadrons of 100 sabres each. A regiment of field artillery is made up of 6 batteries of 4 guns and 24 machine-guns; and a battalion of engineers has 3 companies of 200 men each, while the usual army service corps has 300 men, including a bridging train, telegraph section, medical corps, 9 munition columns, 4 supply columns, 4 to 6 field hospitals and a mobile remount depot.

The Japanese army at present is laying special emphasis on the development of such particular services as siege artillery, field and mountain guns, machine-gun batteries, communication corps and aviation. After the war with Russia the 6-gun battery was abandoned for one of 4 guns, as it was found impossible to carry more than 289 shells for each gun, a supply quite insufficient for a hot artillery duel when guns often discharge 500 rounds a day; so that 4 guns were really all that could be handled with advantage. An infantry company usually numbers 156 all ranks, a

squadron 140 with 135 horses, and a field battery 128 with 62 horses; an engineer company from 175 to 200. Thus the Japanese army division remains as before the largest unit of war organization, and on active duty represents about 18,875 men, with 4,938 horses and 1,765 carriages.

In addition to the compact divisions enumerated above, the Japanese army has troops numbering 4 brigades of cavalry, each having 3 regiments of 5 squadrons; 2 batteries of horse artillery; 3 independent brigades of field artillery, forming 6 regiments with 216 guns; 3 independent mountain batteries with 54 guns; 4 regiments of heavy field artillery; railway troops, wireless units, a balloon company, searchlight detachments and a field gendarmerie. There are also 24 batteries of heavy artillery for coast defence. It has been the practice of Japan to add a brigade of reservists to each division on active service, but the use of these reserve troops is a secret of the higher command; but probably the trend is toward the German custom of depending chiefly on highly trained troops and not to hamper them with inferior elements.

The Emperor is the supreme head of the army; and in time of war he directs the combined operations of army and navy through the headquarters staff, assisted by the Field-Marshal, the supreme military council of army and navy officers and others. The army in time of peace is governed by the Minister of War, the Chief of the General Staff and the Director of Military Education and Training. The chiefs of these departments are independent of one another and directly responsible to the Emperor only.

5. Mobilization and Equipment

During mobilization in Japan, as in Europe, the reserves are called out, depots are formed and reserve formations prepared on the required scale and in the orthodox manner. Usually the first divisions mobilized are

allowed 10 days for preparation, this time in the past having proved ample. Reservists set out for their destinations on the second day of mobilization. The first troops are generally ready to entrain or embark on the seventh day of mobilization ; and the entire first line is ready in between 12 and 20 days, and the reservists in between 20 and 25 days. Japan has nearly 7,000 miles of railways, reaching all the vital points of the country, with over 2,500 locomotives, plenty of rolling stock and ships for the transportation of troops. Embarkation drill is frequently practised in harbours and on open beaches. The regulations provide for 1 ton of shipping per man for the transport of troops overseas, and 4½ tons per horse. In case of war Japan would have no difficulty in moving her forces to the continent or the southern islands in two *échelons*, and the first one would be ready for sea as soon as the troops were in readiness to embark.

In equipment the Japanese army is undergoing a process of reorganization and extension, based on the experiences of the European War. Up to the present the army has been using the Murata rifle, a strong and serviceable weapon rather than a delicate and highly finished arm. The field artillery has guns made at the Osaka arsenal from Krupp patterns of the 1898 type, with quick-firing guns of the same type and date. The calibre is 2·95 inches, weight 3,450 lb. behind the teams, and it fires a shell of 13¾ lb. and has a range of 6,783 yards with existing fuses and ammunition. With fixed ammunition the extreme range is 9,295 yards, and the fuse is believed to burn to a range of 8,749 yards. The shield is of steel ·118 inches thick. It extends over the wheels and has a hinged portion under the axle-tree. The mountain gun takes the same ammunition as the field gun, and has a range of 5,500 yards. New heavy guns of the howitzer type, 10c and 12c, are in use for coast defence, the former gun having a weight of 52 cwt. behind horses, and an initial velocity of 1,770 f.s. and a range of 10,396 yards.

It fires a 40-lb. projectile and has a shield similar to that of the field gun. The Japanese also use a Hotchkiss gun, taking the same ammunition as the infantry rifle. This gun is sighted up to 2,187 yards. It has an all-round traverse and tripod mounting. Its defect is that the weight is from 70 to 100 lb. including tripod.

As to mounts, Japanese cavalry has been importing large numbers of Australian horses since the war with Russia, but not enough for all the requirements of the army, and consequently the supply has been supplemented by half-breed animals known as *zashu*, bred from foreign sires and raised for the most part on the Government stock-farms in Hokkaido. These are preferred to foreign-bred horses by most Japanese officers, as they stand the climate better and are more amenable to native ways of handling and treatment. The Japanese army requires about 130,000 horses, while the whole country possesses not more than 1,600,000, of which not more than 14,000 are imported, and of the total some 530,000 are half-breeds. But horses are not of paramount importance in the Japanese army system.

The field service dress of the whole army is khaki, woollen in winter and linen in summer, with a cap somewhat after the Russian pattern. This cap is gravely defective as a protection against the torrid sun of the Japanese summer, when many soldiers succumb to heat on the march.

The chief military arsenals are at Tokyo and Osaka, the first manufacturing small arms with ammunition therefor, and the Osaka works turning out field-guns and their ammunition.

For the education of army officers a thorough system of schools is provided : district preparatory schools, a central preparatory school, officers' school, military staff college, a tactical school, cavalry school and schools for military and engineering science. At all these schools the training is efficient and the discipline strict. The limit of promotion for army officers, which is reduced one-half in time of

war, is as follows: two years each from sub-lieutenant to lieutenant, and to a captaincy two years more, with an additional four years for a major, three more for a lieutenant-colonel, three more for a colonel, and three more to the rank of major-general, the higher ranks being left to the Emperor as Commander-in-Chief. The age limit for officers on active service is 45 for the lower ranks and up to 65 for the highest rank.

Aviation was not introduced into the Japanese army until 1911; and though at first it made very slow progress, with numerous accidents, it has made more rapid progress in recent years, especially since the European War, after which 70 flying officers were brought from France and a thorough system of training instituted. The army at present has some 600 flying machines of the latest type, with four flying battalions, one each at Tokorozawa, Kagamigahara, Yokkaichi and Tachiarai, and about 6,000,000 yen annually is expended on aviation development in the army. Aviation works are being constructed at considerable outlay, and in future Japan will build her own military machines, the motors to be imported from France. Naval aviation is quite a separate service and will be considered under that head. Civilian aviation has been left so much to private enterprise that very slow development is experienced, though individuals are making a brave effort to overcome this handicap.

Japan is a country where army expenditure centres on equipment rather than on personnel. The soldier gets very small emoluments. His ration is a quart of rice per day, with from 7 to 11 sen a day for relishes to meet the insipidity of the rice. In war time he gets some foreign food. His money allowance is from 2·34 yen per month for privates, up to 7 yen for a corporal, 12 yen for sergeant, and 22 yen for a sergeant-major. The pay of higher officers is much below that obtaining in Western countries. The army is costing Japan now about 150,000,000 yen annually,

which is three times the outlay of 20 years ago, and a third more than 10 years ago. The general outlay on army and navy usually reaches about one-half the annual revenue. In weight of numbers, excellence of organization, adequacy of armament, skill of personnel, knowledge of war science, and splendour of fighting spirit, Japan ranks with the best that any nation can command. Thus does Japan hope to ensure for herself the hegemony of the Far East and avert the congestion of over-population.

CHAPTER XI

IMPERIAL NAVY

IN the science of navigation, and maritime prowess generally, the races who conquered the islands of the Rising Sun seem to have been remarkably well advanced for so remote a period. Allowing that the Yamato people arrived in the archipelago six centuries before the Christian era, they must have arrived there in ships capable of traversing the high seas and resisting the attacks of the savages that probably opposed the landing of the invaders; and thus it is clear that, from the very first, the art of navigation and sea-warfare was sufficiently developed to enable transportation of troops from the continent, and their forcing an occupation of the neighbouring islands.

According to the most ancient records of Japan, navigation showed considerable progress as early as 97 to 30 B.C., when troops were despatched to Korea to resist those attacking the Korean kingdoms friendly to Japan; and, like the Saxon warriors, Hengist and Horsa, who came to the assistance of the Britons after the Roman evacuation, the Yamato thus regained an interest in their ancestral fatherland which they never abandoned, and which led to claims of a protectorate over Korea later. During the various incipient insurrections among the savage tribes whom the Yamato brought under their sway, especially the virile Kumaso who caused an uprising in Kyushu in A.D. 71, warships were used with telling effect; and in a subsequent rebellion about the year A.D. 200, the Emperor

Chuai led a naval expedition to Chikuzen. The Emperor died during the campaign ; and the Empress Jingo, having discovered that the rebels received incitement from Korea, went herself on an expedition to that country to cut off assistance to the rebels in Yamato, and to carry out punitive operations.

In the year A.D. 310 it appears that the art of navigation had so far developed that in the empire of Yamato it was found necessary to appoint maritime officials in various centres, and Japanese sails were to be seen in all the waters of the Far East. It is recorded that a naval expedition subdued the savages of Oshima Island in A.D. 655. During the prolonged internecine wars of the Middle Ages, between the Taira and the Minamoto clans, naval engagements were frequent, the most notable being the famous battle at Dannoura in 1185, when the Taira clan was exterminated. The military government set up by Yoritomo at Kamakura in 1192 had a powerful navy at its command, and the various feudal lords were not slow to emulate the shogun in their prowess at sea. When Kublai Khan, the Mongol Napoleon, invaded Japan with his great armada in the thirteenth century, he found a resistless naval force waiting to oppose his landing, and he was driven back to sea by the Japanese, where a furious gale completed his destruction. The sea-power of Japan thenceforward expanded rapidly, both internally and externally, until its development was checked and finally arrested by the exclusion of foreigners from Japan in 1637, when Japanese ships were prohibited from going on the high seas. But there is no doubt that the internal consolidation of the empire at the beginning, and for centuries afterwards, was largely the work of an efficient sea-power.

With the opening of a route from Europe by way of the Cape of Good Hope foreign navigators began to reach the shores of Japan, encouraged by opportunities of trade ; and from these Japan learned something of the seamanship

and naval development of the outside world. Under impetus from the Spanish and Portuguese traders, Japanese shipping so developed in the sixteenth century that junks of three masts were built, a special government department was organized for the regulation of merchant marine, and vessels engaged in foreign trade were given a special licence. In the days of Hideyoshi, at the end of the sixtenth century, Japanese vessels were seen in the ports of China, Siam, India and even in Mexico. The records show that between the years 1604–16 the number of licences issued to ships trading abroad was over 200. Then, owing to suspicions of foreigners, in the year 1637 the Shogun Iyemitsu placed an embargo on all further communication with foreign lands, and even the building of sea-going ships was prohibited. From this time Japan's naval power began to decline, and remained quiescent until the reopening of Japan to intercourse with occidental nations in 1853–4.

1. Birth of the Imperial Navy

When foreign ships began to appear off the coasts of Japan in the middle of the nineteenth century, the command of adequate naval defences was soon realized to be the nation's greatest need. The apparent ease with which the fleet of Commodore Perry forced open the gates of Japan and accomplished America's mission, in spite of the hovering and helpless native war-junks, showed the Japanese that the shogunate was now the victim of its own policy, and that so incompetent a government should be replaced by one more able to meet the needs and relations of the empire. Japan did not require any persuasion as to the necessity of a strong navy. It was soon seen that the seamanship suppressed by the shogunate was not dead, but only sleeping. The Dutch Government, whose subjects had been permitted to retain communication with Japan during the years of seclusion, advised Japan to establish a navy on a

European model. A naval school was opened at Nagasaki in 1855, the year after the American visit, with Dutch instructors in charge ; and not long afterwards a shipyard and iron works were opened in the same port, the beginning of the present Mistubishi works, the greatest dockyard in the empire. Another naval school was established at the shogun's capital in Yedo, now Tokyo, where graduates of the Nagasaki institution were brought for higher courses and further naval training. The *Kanko Maru*, a gift from Holland, was Japan's first naval training-ship. The nucleus of a navy was created by gifts from various countries, and by purchases from the United States and Europe. One of the most prized of gifts was a beautiful steam yacht from Queen Victoria. The Yedo authorities now began to send students abroad to pursue naval studies, and the feudal lords adopted the same policy. A naval dockyard was opened at Yokosuka for the promotion of an Imperial navy.

It must soon have become evident to the shogun's Government, however, that its efforts were rather belated ; for, when a British squadron was obliged to force redress for the murder of an Englishman by bombardment of Kagoshima in 1863, and when the combined fleets of England, America, France and Holland had to reduce the forts at Shimonoseki in the following year, for attacks on foreign ships, there was in Japan no naval force capable of offering practical resistance. In the years immediately following these episodes naval preparations were hastened with great expedition. Officers were invited from Europe to advise and instruct the infant navy of Japan. Among them was the late Admiral Sir Richard Tracey, who though, as a young commander, had taken part in the operations at Kagoshima, was subsequently thus called upon to lay the foundations of the new Japanese navy. When the shogunate was finally abolished in 1867 the young navy of Japan came under the Emperor as supreme commander of all the forces of the empire.

The restoration of Imperial power was not accomplished without the aid of the navy, when the tiny force had a first chance to show something of its mettle. In the various conflicts that ensued, leading eventually to the triumph of the Imperial cause, the bulk of the feudal navy sided with the feudal lords who supported the shogunate party ; and under Commander Enemoto, one of the young officers trained in Holland, it made a gallant but vain resistance against the superior forces of the empire. Baffled in the south, the rebel ships retired with Enemoto to the north, where they held out for a time at Hakodate. At last it was forced to surrender to the Imperial fleet and the newborn navy had its first triumph. The feudal navy was at once incorporated with the Imperial navy. Enemoto and his men, after some hardships, were pardoned and ultimately absorbed into the Imperial service. Enemoto himself became Admiral of the Fleet, Minister to Russia, Minister of Foreign Affairs and finally Prime Minister of Japan.

2. Rapid Naval Development

When the wars of the Restoration were over, and the Imperial forces acknowledged supreme on both land and sea, a fleet of but nine vessels, mere gunboats none of which was above 1,000 tons, represented all that the Japanese navy possessed. The dockyards already established were capable of turning out only wooden ships. It was not until 1887 that Japan was able to launch her first iron vessel. Most of the fleet up to that time had been purchased abroad. The nation devoted itself with energy and determination to the organization and evolution of an efficient navy. What the nascent dockyards and arsenals could not supply in ships and armament continued to be purchased from Europe, while with amazing application, intelligence and insight the Japanese set themselves to learn the best uses of their new naval equipment, such as it was.

Nor did they make the mistake in those early days of supposing that the more important factor in naval efficiency was *matériel*. They realized from the start in true samurai spirit that warfare is mainly a matter of *personnel*, a truth which those that have had the misfortune to challenge Japan on land and sea never learned. Not content with acquiring and mastering Western knowledge of the forces of nature, Japan engaged officers of notable personality and efficiency from England, to put her budding naval personnel into fighting trim. In addition to the services of Admiral Tracey, Admiral Douglas was selected to lead a naval mission to Japan, consisting chiefly of naval officers, to instruct the Japanese ; and the leader of the mission was director of the Imperial Naval College from 1873 to 1875. Later Rear-Admiral Ingles came as naval adviser to the authorities, while Dr. William Anderson laid the foundations of naval medical education in Japan.

It is interesting to note what rapid development characterized the Japanese navy during the period of British advisement. Between the years 1870 and 1880 various uprisings marked the political progress of Japan : notably, the Saga rebellion of 1874, the attack on a Japanese gunboat by Korea in 1875, the Hagi disaffection and the Satsuma rebellion 1876–8, in all of which the Imperial navy had to carry out protective or punitive operations of some sort, and this it did with a degree of efficiency that proved solid progress. The warship *Jungei* was launched from the Yokosuka navy yard in 1876. It was only 1,450 tons, but considerably larger than the *Seiki* of the previous year, which was only 897 tons. The latter was the first Japanese-built ship to visit Europe, making the trip in 1878. In 1876 Japanese yards were capable of repairing their own ships without foreign assistance. To promote a more rapid development three ships were ordered from England in 1878—the old *Fuso*, 3,777 tons ; the old *Kongo* and *Hiyei*, 2,248 tons each. In 1880 the Admiralty station was

removed to Yokosuka; and two more were established, one at Kuré and one at Sasebo in 1889.

The Government issued a new naval programme in 1892, formulated under Imperial Rescript, to which the Emperor contributed from the privy purse a sum of 300,000 yen for six years. Government officers and all the higher officials followed the Imperial example by giving to the navy 10 per cent of their salaries, and there were liberal private contributions as well. Thus grew up and flourished the infant navy of Japan until the time of its first test, in the war with China in 1894–5, when the aggregate tonnage was only 57,600, representing 28 ships and 24 torpedo-boats. The total outlay in naval construction, equipment and repletion up to that time had been no more than 240,000,000 yen.

3. The New Navy in War

In the war with China, Japan's first naval engagement of any great importance in modern times, the nation showed that in the space of forty years it had been able to develop a navy capable of effectively performing every duty devolving upon it. Japan proved to the world, not only the superb prowess and endurance of her fighting men, but also how thoroughly her leaders had understood and assimilated the unchanging principles that make for sea-power. Japan seems to have seen from the beginning that the success of her entire operations against China depended on keeping the sea clear for transportation of her troops, a point China failed to observe, if she saw it at all, until it was too late. With Japan's destruction of the Chinese fleet the command of the sea was thenceforth hers, and she was able to keep sufficient forces at her command to carry everything before her in Manchuria. Japan came out of that conflict with seventeen more ships added to her navy.

The terms of peace with China contained the germs of her next war, for they gave Japan a position in Korea and

China that Russia was certain to challenge. Japan clearly saw this ; and, after her compulsory withdrawal from Port Arthur through the interference of Germany, France and Russia, Japan at once set about acquiring a navy that even any Western naval force might well hesitate to provoke. New naval stations were established, new arsenals opened, new ordnance works constructed, new powder factories built, powerful fighting units were gradually added to the fleet, many of which were launched from Japanese yards. The whole navy system was reorganized on a greatly improved and extended scale, and stricter attention was devoted to education and personnel. A squadron of first-class battleships was added to the fleet of armoured cruisers that had beaten China. When the anticipated crisis came in February 1904, Japan found herself facing Russia with a total tonnage of 258,000, of which at least 233,876 tons represented ships above the destroyer class. And Japan came out of the war with Russia, notwithstanding important losses, with a total tonnage of 410,000, having taken 12 battleships and cruisers, besides numerous small craft, from her big opponent. In that war, too, Russia was wholly outwitted by Japanese strategy ; for she divided her naval force between Port Arthur and Vladivostock, making no intelligent effort to prevent Japan's command of the sea. Thus Japan was left with her fleet intact to meet the main naval force of Russia.

4. Japan's Navy To-day

Since the war with Russia, Japan has relaxed none of her efforts for the evolution of a navy adequate to the nation's needs, and worthy of the empire. Although the conference on naval armament reduction at Washington has obliged retrenchment in heavy ships, freedom in regard to cruisers will enable Japan to maintain her naval strength for all practical purposes. The twelve battleships and cruisers captured from Russia were in themselves a valuable

addition of over 100,000 tons to the fleet, though these are now for the most part out of date. Three of these cruisers were returned to Russia during the European War for a consideration of 14,500,000 yen. After the Russo-Japanese War great improvements were made in Japanese dockyards, especially in enlargement of shipbuilding capacity, and Japan was soon able to construct and equip all sizes and kinds of warships at home. Japan's naval policy is to ensure competence to encounter successfully any force that a foreign country may send against her in oriental waters; and this policy is based on the results of the American round-the-world naval cruise, showing the possibility of a foreign Power sending its total naval armament into Japanese waters. Japan aims to have at least 315,000 tons of the heaviest fighting ships that her agreements with the Washington Conference will permit.

Before the Washington Conference it was Japan's policy to develop what was known as the eight-four programme: which meant 3 squadrons consisting of 8 dreadnaughts and 4 battle-cruisers each, with attendant flotilla, the whole to cost some 310,000,000 yen. The retrenchment policy in heavy ships to which Japan has agreed reduces the heavy ships, but not to any serious extent the cruisers. It may here be noted with interest that the great battleship *Hyuga* is of entirely Japanese design, unlike anything of the class in other fleets, the most important features being extreme steadiness for gunnery, and an original axial emplacement for her 10 10-inch guns, as well as increased capacity for storage of oil side by side with coal. This fighting monster, like her sister ships the *Fuso*, *Yamashiro* and *Isé*, has a displacement of 30,600 tons, length 680 feet, water-line 630 feet, beam 94 feet, draught 28 feet, speed 23 knots, main armament 10 14-inch guns, secondary armament 20 6-inch guns.

Even after Japan has reduced her naval armament in agreement with the Washington Conference she remains

the third greatest naval Power in the world, with a replacement tonnage fixed at 315,000 in capital ships, which is markedly superior to that allowed to France and Italy. On the new basis the Japanese fleet will consist of 10 dreadnaughts, 3 armoured cruisers, 15 light cruisers, 4 torpedo boats with guns, 125 destroyers, 19 ordinary torpedo boats, and 45 submarines, but 35 more submarines will be added by 1927. In addition to the three powerful dreadnaughts named above, the fleet includes two more, the *Nagato* and the *Mutsu*, of 33,800 tons and 46,000 h.p. each. Then there are the four great battle-cruisers: the *Kongo*, *Kirishima*, *Haruna* and *Hiyei*, 27,500 tons and 64,000 h.p. each. In Japan's fleet of light cruisers are the *Tone*, 4,100 tons; the *Chikuma*, *Hirado* and *Yahagi*, 4,950 tons each; the *Tatsuta* and *Tenryu*, 3,500 tons each; the *Kiso*, *Kitakami*, *Kuma*, *Nagara*, *Isudzu*, *Natori*, *Ohi* and *Tama*, 5,570 tons each. Under construction are the following light cruisers of 5,570 tons each: the *Naka*, *Abukama*, *Sendai*, *Jinten*, and *Yubari*. The formidable battle-cruisers *Kaga* and *Tosa* are to be converted into aircraft carriers; and the armoured cruisers *Ikoma*, *Kurama* and *Ibuki* are to be scrapped, together with all the older ships not named above.

The Imperial fleet is usually divided into three sections, the first stationed at Yokosuka, the second at Kuré and the third at Sasebo, the first fleet consisting of four squadrons, the second of three and the third of three, each squadron having its flagship and from three to four line-of-battle ships with attendant flotillas. In addition, there is a naval training squadron, and naval detachments in neighbouring and foreign waters.

The Japanese navy did not begin to take up aviation until 1912, when some officers returned from a study of the science in France, after which a training station was opened at Oppama near the Yokosuka naval base. A naval aviation corps was organized in 1916, and a sum of 630,000 voted

for equipment. Since then a sum of 1,580,000 yen has been expended on establishing two more naval aviation corps at Kuré and Sasebo respectively. Since the close of the European War Japan has appropriated the sum of 12,000,000 yen for improvement and extension of aviation in both army and navy. French flying officers have been used to train the army in this science ; and British flying officers to train the navy, as the Japanese naval authorities have always continued to make the British navy their model. A large number of British flying officers who won distinction in the war have been in Japan in recent years up to 1923, under command of the Master of Semphill ; and under them much progress has been made. Japan is now supposed to have a fleet of 140 naval aeroplanes, some purchased abroad, chiefly in England, and some constructed at home, partly under British supervision. Mr. K. Yamashita, a wealthy shipowner of Tokyo, has recently made a donation of 1,000,000 yen to the State for the development of aviation in army and navy. With a subscription of 500,000 yen from the Emperor and large sums from wealthy civilians, a fund of some 3,000,000 yen has been created for the promotion of civilian aviation, which as yet has made but slow progress in Japan. Accidents are only too common in Japanese aviation, the death-rate in peace time being higher than in war, amounting to over 20 per cent.

Japan's outlay on naval armament has been steadily on the rise for many years. In 1893 it amounted to only 9,000,000 yen ; in 1903 it had increased to over 36,000,000 ; in 1913 to over 94,000,000 ; while the naval budget to-day is in the vicinity of 510,000,000 yen, a reduction of some 200,000,000 yen through the Washington Conference agreement.

5. Education and Personnel

For the training of her naval officers Japan has an excellent array of schools, even to a Paymasters' College, the work

of which other navies usually leave to extraneous institutions. The chief educational institutions for the navy are the Naval Staff College in Tokyo for the training of specialists; the Naval Engineering College at Yokosuka, the Naval Cadets' School at Etajima, the Naval Paymasters' College and the Naval Medical College, both in Tokyo. There are torpedo and gunnery schools also at Yokosuka, as well as a school for the training of naval mechanics and machinists. The highest institution is the Naval Staff College where men are trained for staff officers and future commanders. The entrants must be either lieutenants who have finished their course at the Gunnery, Torpedo or Navigation School, or officers who have served two whole years at sea. The entrants to the Naval Medical College are graduates of some recognized medical college, and their special training for the navy lasts six months. Senior surgeons are selected from the naval medical staff for a year's research work at this college after having served some years afloat. The Paymasters' College admits by examination from secondary schools, and the training lasts three years and four months. Graduates of high schools or universities may be admitted for a six months' course at this college. Senior officers in the accounting department of the navy are selected for a year's special training at the Paymasters' College in preparation for staff officers and specialists.

The Japanese navy always has many more officers in proportion to strength than any other navy in the world. When the Japanese navy was but half the size of the British, it had about the same number of officers as the British navy. Japan aims to have on hand always a sufficient number of trained men to meet any emergency. And so while the British navy usually has about 1·35 officers per ton, the Japanese navy has 3·42 officers per ton. The Japanese practice of employing so many officers on active service for shore duty and routine work might be supposed

not to make for efficiency at sea. In practice the Japanese subordinate officer rarely remains at sea longer than two years when he is transferred to shore service. Sometimes one hears of admirals and rear-admirals whose service at sea has not been above a few years on training ships or as deck officers.

In the navy of Japan promotion is always by selection, and never by mere seniority in service. Promotions are decided at the conference of the Admirals' Council, the time-limit being reduced one-half in time of war. Midshipmen, after finishing at the Cadets' School, have six months on a training-ship, and are then assigned to various warships. A year's practical service completed, they may become second-lieutenants; and in four months more of special study they rise to the rank of sub-lieutenants, and after two full years of active service to lieutenants. A lieutenant-commander must have had five full years of active service; and two years after promotion he may become a commander; another two years can make him a captain, if the Admirals' Council selects him for promotion. A rear-admiral must have had two years' experience as captain, and in three years after such promotion he may be advanced to the rank of vice-admiral. Admirals are all men of long experience, as a rule, and must be appointed only by Imperial order. The age-limit for admirals is 65, vice-admirals 60, rear-admirals 56, captains 53, warrant officers or engineer commanders 50, commanders 47, lieutenant-commanders 45, lieutenants 44, sub-lieutenants 40, and other ranks according to competency.

The rank and file of the Japanese navy is recruited from both conscripts and volunteers, conscription being only a supplementary source of supply. But the authorities find it no easy task to obtain a sufficient number of men for the navy, and in most years the number of conscripts is scarcely less than that of volunteers.

6. Imperial Dockyards

The Imperial navy yards at present number four : Yokosuka, Kuré, Sasebo and Maidzuru, with three repair yards of less importance at three other places, one of which is Port Arthur. All the four principal yards possess dry-docks for the accommodation of large warships ; and the first two have cradles for the construction of dreadnaughts, the latter two having accommodation for the building of only light cruisers and destroyers. The Yokosuka yard, in equipment, efficiency and speed of execution, is equal to any of its size in the world. In the great earthquake it received serious damage, which, however, was not irreparable. Yokosuka has two slips for the largest ships, and three others for destroyers and torpedo boats, with four graving docks, one of which is capable of taking any ship afloat. The dockyard employs about 11,000 men in peace-time, and in war-time up to 16,000 men. Beginning with 18 acres the yard now covers an area of 116 acres. Great ships like the *Hiyei* and *Yamashiro* were launched from the Yokosuka yard, as I had the pleasure of witnessing by invitation of the Naval Department. The yard provided for these large warships all the propelling machinery, castings, forgings and most of the auxiliary machinery. The Kuré yard can also build the largest ships ; and of its three graving docks one can accommodate the largest warship. The warship *Ibuki*, 14,600 tons, was launched from the Kuré yard in six months from the laying down of the keel. The *Settsu* and the *Fuso* also were built at Kuré. The ordnance department at Kuré is equipped for constructing guns and mountings of the largest size. Most of the fighting armament of warships built by Japan in recent years was made at this navy yard. The Kurè armour plate is reputed in Japan to be more irresistible to modern gunnery than that imported. The average number of hands employed at Kuré is about 17,000. Sasebo

has five docks, with ample accommodation for the construction of cruisers ; while cruisers of a formidable type can also be constructed at Maidzuru as well as every kind of smaller craft. The naval dockyards of Japan give constant employment to about 40,000 hands. Japan commands further great facilities for the construction of warships of the greatest fighting strength in such well-equipped private yards as the Kawasaki at Kobé and the Mitsubishi at Nagasaki.

Japan's greatest inconvenience in regard to ship construction is usually lack of material. This was keenly felt during the European War, when supplies of steel plate were cut off, owing to the preoccupation of British and American steel works with war orders. The supply of steel annually turned out by the national mills is inadequate to the demand. The new steel works at Muroran, a joint undertaking of the Hokkaido Colliery and S.S. Company and Messrs. Armstrong and Vickers of England, opened in 1908, is of great assistance in providing big guns. For her decks Japan brings teak from Siam and pine from Oregon and uses native woods generally for interiors and decorations.

CHAPTER XII

JAPANESE EDUCATION

BEFORE the opening of Japan to the modern world the nation was without any regular system of secular education. Pre-Restoration Japan had witnessed no such steady evolution of great centres of learning as had marked the progress of pre-Reformation Europe. Indeed education can scarcely be said to have attained a degree of development either so effective or so general as that of the later schools of Greece, to say nothing of its inferiority to Rome's improvement on her heritage of Hellenic culture.

As among the ancient nations of Europe a youth, bent upon satisfying his thirst for knowledge and intellectual achievement, had to fit himself for a realization of his ambitions by what he could gain from the wandering sage or the ' schools of the prophets,' or only from the stern realities of life itself, so was it with the men of old Japan. Education, in so far as it had ceased to be a mere dabbling in Chinese classics or a mental abstraction of the idle and the pretentious, centred, as in early Greece, around a few great names ; but these, unlike the sophists of old, founded no schools, left no successors, and the pupils scattered with the decease of the master.

In the realm of arts, crafts and industry it was in some measure otherwise ; for here education and the secrets of artificial creation often passed from master to pupil until craft became hereditary : which means that the education of early Japan was for the most part utilitarian, and therefore primitive, both in spirit and practice.

In the same way that Rome drew her intellectual and æsthetic inspiration from Greece and Egypt, so did Japan from Korea and China. But Confucius and Mencius, who might have been to Japan what Socrates and Plato were to the pre-Christian world, produced only a sort of stoicism that appealed to none but the stern dictators of unreasoning loyalty and convention, leaving the masses to the crude superstitions of Shinto; and thus the nation was thrown back on Buddhism for its 'Moses and the prophets,' the schools that the alien religion brought with it from India and China. This may have been better than no change at all, but it turned the Japanese mind to contemplation of æsthetic vagaries tending too largely to the petty and the grotesque, with a mistaken depreciation of the practical world, and a failure to produce much character of the heroic mould. Buddhism, by a shrewd system of compromise, ultimately blended sufficiently with Shinto to enslave still further the national mind with humiliating superstitions, until men emulated the goblins of primitive fancy, and felt themselves bound every way about by guardian semi-human deities of a wild ancestral type. Here and there appeared a brilliant scholar, a popular poet or minstrel, a Buddhist saint of high degree, but the masses remained untouched and dense.

Education in old Japan, so far as it can be said to have existed at all, clung to the skirts of princes and potentates associated with the changing capitals of the empire, until, in the twelfth century, with the rapid decline of Imperial power and central government, the dictatorship passed into the hands of the military families, and education had to take refuge where it began, with the teachers of religion. It was therefore a thing of temples and monasteries, as in Mediæval Europe, but with little of the intellectual eminence displayed by the monastic schools of the West. Names like Prince Shotoku, Honen and Nichiren stand out in almost solitary splendour amid the darkness of the age.

With the ascendancy of the Tokugawa shoguns education began to receive more active support from the authorities, and schools of a kind, under the auspices of daimyo, commenced to flourish, notably those at the Courts of Satsuma, Mito, Owari and Hizen. The present Imperial universities germinated from these feudal academies of old Japan.

Thus in Japan, as in all other lands, education began only when the nation had passed through the struggle that resulted in the birth of a real empire, and the people had begun to realize that they had done something worthy of thought. Adversity is as much the mother of intellectual and moral achievement as it is reputed to be of invention. Japan had now reached a stage where her heroes were sufficiently impressive to be easily separated from their deeds, and set up as ideals for the race. The nation was slowly beginning to break way from the fatal prepossession that man can only be what his ancestors have made him, and that the gods do not allow him to have anything to do with his own destiny. But a great part of the Japanese people still incline to this fatalism.

Discovering, with the birth of knowledge, that men and nations are entrusted with the shaping of their own destiny, the leaders of Japan were no longer content to have life regulated by ancestral custom and traditional convention, but by thought, truth and action. When education ceased to be a thing of family interests, social convention and religious superstition, and became a definite necessity of choice and service, the citizen for the first time was given an opportunity to regulate his life by reason and conscience rather than by rigid ancestral rule. Education was no longer regarded as an ornament of the few, but an inalienable right of the many. Such indeed was the ideal with which the department of education in Japan set out. How far this ideal has been lived up to we shall now endeavour to examine.

1. Worship of the Past a Retarding Obsession

The greatest handicap to the progress of Japanese education has been an unreasoning devotion to the past, and a faith that is more concerned with material than moral ideals. The Japanese, any more than other races, could not have sprung from the barbarism at a bound: their evolution has been longer and slower than most races. They still retain in a large measure the nascent propensity to be concerned gravely with family and racial customs, and to recognize no social tie save that of blood. When the main conception of education for endless generations has been for youth blindly to imitate age, as age does its ancestors, and regard life as being always what it has been, it is difficult to bring about a radical change in a brief period. Custom becomes the rule of living, and individual development receives little encouragement. Even ethical doctrines, so far as they exist, become prudential and sordid, and precept fails to appeal to the inner light in man. Where education is mainly a sheer effort of memory it does little for mental and moral development. These considerations it is necessary to keep in mind, if one is to understand the incubus of the past in modern Japanese education.

When Russia decided to become more modern in medieval times she went to Constantinople rather than to Rome for her ideals of education and religion, and has never been able to overcome this mistake. Japan had no model to follow but that of China, and finds the spirit thus imbibed still the greatest obstacle to progress. Apart from touches of occidental veneer in treaty ports and official circles Chinese civilization has not changed a whit in three thousand years. Confucius, the greatest teacher of China, declared that the whole duty of man was to follow nature —by which he meant custom, or devotion to imitation of the past. Of course if virtue is knowledge, and knowledge is mere observance of fixed ideas and customs, education

is necessarily unprogressive. Under such a system the people do not think for themselves, and only official utterance and authority are of any importance.

It may be true, as the Chinese and Japanese are wont to believe if not to affirm, that they were clothed in silks, and sipping tea from the most delicate porcelain cups, when Europe was clad in skins and roaming in tribes through the forest fastnesses westward; but in this active and progressive age the question is not what people were, but what they are. Our main interest in the past is to note the secret of the progress we have made and to observe the principles on which progress depends. With the beginning of authentic history in the Japan of the sixth century, there is mention of schools; and Japanese historians are prone to insist that the educational edicts of the Emperor Mommu in A.D. 701 antedate the Ordinance of Charlemagne by a hundred years, and Oxford University by nearly two centuries; but if the inference has any significance at all, it is only to emphasize the contrast between the results of the two systems of education on the respective peoples. The boast of antiquity becomes futile sentimentality if the fruit is inferior. Oxford, Cambridge and the Sorbonne, as well as many other great educational institutions of Europe, still function, with ever-increasing fruition, while in Japan and China education in the modern sense is only just beginning.

Certain unique achievements must, however, be admitted: the invention of the mariner's compass, of gunpowder, and printing from wooden type, which have been left to more modern nations to improve and make the most of. The Chinese have officially been devoted to classical literature and to fine art, but history shows that these things do not save from national decay in Asia any more than they did in Greece and Rome. Education, to be effective and lasting and continuous, must be based on ideals that are universal in their appeal and significance.

Education in old China, as in old Japan, was not real education, because it was for the privileged and not for the people. The masses were left in ignorance and squalor. And for women education in any true sense did not exist at all. In court circles some women of brilliant literary talents appeared in the Nara period, and then women vanished from Japanese intellectual achievement for a thousand years. How much both Japan and China have lost by so complete a suppression or neglect of womanhood!

The education from which modern Japan is endeavouring to break away, therefore, was stilted, barren and without inspiration or outlook. It demanded a knowledge of Chinese and native classics possible only to the few, and had little or nothing to do with real life and the development of manhood. Only in one way was education effective: it made loyalty supreme in all relations between inferiors and superiors, but it was a loyalty that had nothing to do with ethics. Education in the later years of the shogunate no more escaped from the influence of Chinese ideals than it did in previous ages; and modern education has inherited this incubus, so that Confucianism still remains the foundation of morality and education in Japan.

2. Modern Education Begins

Although Japan had no proper system of education before 1868, we have seen how some degree of preparation had been made for the change to better things. The influence of European ideas brought in by the Spanish and Dutch traders and the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries opened the eyes of many in Japan to a world of thought and achievement until then beyond oriental ken. With the Meiji era, the era of enlightenment, Japan set about transformation to modern ways. How was it that a people so averse from occidental ideals and customs came so suddenly to change their policy? There are those who suppose that the idea

was born with the arrival of Commodore Perry, who opened up Japan to foreign intercourse in 1854. As far back as 1582, however, a Japanese embassy had traversed Spain and Italy, and returned with an account of the barbarian world. From the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth century occidental influence had been percolating through Japan; and Japan became gradually conscious of the greatness and the necessity of a world of knowledge as yet unacquired by her. Her officials listened with amazement to the tales of emprise and achievement retailed to them by such men as Kaempfer and von Siebold of the Dutch factory at Nagasaki, until curiosity and suspicion leapt the barriers of conservatism and prejudice, and Japan was ready to learn all that the strangers could teach.

In this way a considerable knowledge of occidental arts and crafts, mathematics and medicine, began to circulate in Japan; and the sacrifices made by the youth of the country to obtain what information the foreigners had to impart was unprecedented in the experience of the teachers. The circumstances only go to show what an apt pupil Japan would have proved, had she not been forcibly isolated from Europe for over two hundred years. Indeed, by this time she might have surpassed the Europe of to-day.

Between the arrival of Commodore Perry and the fall of the shogunate a commission was sent abroad to investigate the secrets of occidental progress and report on Japan's requirements for successful competition with the outside world. Among the more important recommendations which the commission made on its return was that for the establishment of a modern system of education. In 1869 an ordinance relating to schools and universities was issued, and in 1871 the first Department of Education was organized for the supervision of the schools to be set up throughout the empire. One of the most significant articles in the five sections of the Imperial Oath, sworn on April 6, 1868,

before the Imperial princes and other high personages of State at Kyoto, was: "Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the empire may be promoted." This gave the keynote to the great educational change that so rapidly followed and supplied Japan with a carefully devised school system. The code on education, published in 1872, dealt fully with everything pertaining to the new school system. Education was to be so universally diffused in Japan that there was not to be anywhere an ignorant family, nor a family with one ignorant member. The first system put into force was based on a French model. The whole country was divided into eight educational districts, each to have one university, thirty-two secondary schools and 6,720 elementary schools, or one for every 600 of the population. Superintendents were duly appointed to see to the establishment and maintenance of these institutions.

This hastily prepared, imported system of education proved immature however, and later, since education was to be made universal, as in the United States, it was thought better to bring over educational experts from that country; and Dr. David Murray, of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, was invited to come and reorganize the whole system. This he did with excellent effect, establishing schools all over the country. But as time went on the authorities, fearing that the radical changes being brought about by the rapid modernization of Japan might be made too precipitate under the influence of a system which stood for the development of individuality, eventually had German educators modify the American system with Prussian ideals.

From the beginning the Japanese insisted on having a system that was purely utilitarian, unassociated with religion, except that of devotion to the Imperial House and the ancestral gods. No distinction was drawn between moral and intellectual training, as in Confucianism. Moral

codes are for people who need them, but not for the children of the gods, who are inherently moral. Though in Japan all religions are free, and religion is supposed to be excluded from education, the pupils of the national schools are taken to worship at the national shrines ; which the authorities insist is not associating religion with education.

It is clear that the educational authorities of Japan were from the first, if not suspicious of foreign ideas, yet very restless under foreign guidance, as they always are ; and consequently students were early sent abroad to familiarize themselves with American and European methods of education, that they might return and adopt these methods to Japanese ideas without introducing foreign ideas inconsistent with Japanese ideals and traditions.

Japan's attempt to adopt Western methods and ways without accepting the ideals that created them often leads to a tendency that, to occidental eyes at least, looks like an attempt to Japanize the truth ; but with occidental conceptions of education constantly filtering into the country, and Christian missions already in Japan exercising an intensive and extensive influence on civilization, the general attitude to science, religion and human freedom is necessarily changing, and Japan to-day is passing through a social revolution. Indifference or opposition to the old ideas of native cosmogony and Government is viewed by officialdom as dangerous thought, and regulations with regard to the discipline of schools become more rigorous, without, however, the desired effect, for school strikes are an increasing feature of education.

The many Japanese teachers educated in America and England do not return to their own country prepared to accept Prussian ideals in education, though most of them are but silent opponents of it. An educational policy that regards the pupil as a mere lump of dough to be modelled into whatever shape the system decides, independently of will and individual fitness, is not likely to succeed in the

modern world. In the Japanese system all pupils are turned into the same machine, and in a prescribed time are all turned out after the same pattern, models of absolute subservience to authority, recognizing no other duty, and claiming none but conferred rights, yet grossly ignorant of the first principles of citizenship and good government, as understood in occidental countries. Hope of improvement lies in the fact that these defects of national education are being pointed out by leading thinkers of Japan, and in time the spirit of Japanese education may be expected to become as modern as the form.

To correct the mistakes and avoid the dangers arising from occidental ideas of education, and form a statement or oracle fully authoritative on Japanese ideals of education and progress, the following Imperial Rescript was issued in 1890:

"KNOW YE, OUR SUBJECTS:

"Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue, the beauty of which our subjects, ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have, from generation to generation, illustrated. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our empire, and herein lies the source of our education. Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious; as friends, true. Bear yourselves in modesty and moderation. Extend your benevolence to all. Pursue learning and cultivate the arts, and thereby develop the intellectual faculties, and perfect the moral powers. Furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests. Always respect the Constitution and observe the laws. Should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So

shall ye be our good and faithful subjects, and render illustrious the best traditions of your ancestors.

"The way here set forth is indeed the teaching handed down by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and Their subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue."

A copy of the above rescript, beautifully written, is distributed by the Department of Education to all schools in the empire, and is kept in a sacred place, with portraits of the Imperial Family. On all important occasions when the whole school is assembled, the Imperial Rescript is brought out and read to the school as the pupils stand at attention before the Imperial portraits, to which profound obeisance is made, the ceremony being regarded as the most solemn and significant that can take place. Every school guards these priceless possessions with the most vigilant care. Cases are frequently recorded where teachers or school officials have deliberately walked into the flames and given their lives to save these sacred treasures from destruction, the victim being accorded the rank of a hero whose spirit is worshipped for ever.

Education in Japan is regarded as one of the most important functions of the State, and is, therefore, entirely under Government control. The department charged with supervision of education is under a Minister of the cabinet who directs the whole system. It should be noted that in Japan education is not based on laws passed by the national legislature, but on ordinances issued by the Emperor on recommendation of the cabinet after approval by the Privy Council. The people have no voice whatever in how their children are to be educated.

3. The System in Detail

The educational system of Japan, as it stands at present, may be said to have its basis in a patriotic and aggressive materialism. Its philosophy is distinctly utilitarian, rather than concerned with improvement of morals or the acquirement of culture. The most obvious weakness is its failure to develop the more admirable of the natural faculties at the expense of the least admirable. It crams the minds of the rising generation with a vast collection of all sorts of unrelated facts about the science of the modern world and the affairs of occidental civilization, too often interpreted in such a spirit as to excite envy rather than emulation. The Japanese have yet scarcely reached that stage of national evolution where the mind is more concerned with man's potentialities and his place in the universe, than with their own destiny and the best means of ensuring it. Thus education is not influenced by any profound philosophy of life, nor by religion in a moral sense.

This is not to say, as has been suggested, that there are no signs of better things. Japan's two great wars, with China and again with Russia, rather tended to increase the nation's confidence in its own convictions. But the European War has had quite a different effect, the least of which is that it has created doubts and left the public mind much confused. Japan is beginning to realize that certain principles always lead to war, whether their exponents be Shinto, Confucianist or Christian. Japan's victory over Russia was ascribed to the superiority of the Japanese spirit, invincible under impetus from the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors ; but the war in Europe showed that the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon was in no sense inferior to that of Japan, and in some ways more excellent. This may lead the more intelligent of Japanese educationists to lay greater stress on the moral side of human culture ; while the European War itself must lead Japan to see that

real education implies application as much as theory in the acquirement of facts. After all, the only proof of true knowledge is action.

Criticism apart, the educational system of Japan is fairly fulfilling the aim of its founders and its directors. It aims at a general education of the masses in an elementary way, a special education of the professions and of officialdom and a technical education of industry and trade. Each of these branches of education is divided into three grades : primary, secondary and higher education, with schools accordingly. Primary education, committed to the primary schools, is concerned only with the elements that every citizen must know, without regard to trade or profession. The secondary schools are only the elementary schools carried to a higher grade. Higher education provides specialists in law, politics, medicine, science, literature, music, art and pedagogy. Technical education is concerned with turning out farmers, mechanics, artisans, merchants, and all that require a particular training for production. In addition to the schools under the Department of Education there are schools in connexion with the Imperial Household Department for the education of peers and peeresses ; schools for the army and navy ; for the Department of Internal Affairs ; the Department of Communications ; to say nothing of numerous private schools corresponding in purpose and grade to the various national schools already mentioned.

The national primary, secondary and high schools, together with the five Imperial universities and various special and technical schools, form the main educational force under direct control of the Government. All private schools, of course, are more or less under official inspection. Without this they cannot enjoy official approval, and this they must have else their graduates would stand little chance of Government appointments. For the more careful control of national education the Government has

three bureaux, known as the Bureau of General Education, the Bureau of Special Education and the Bureau of Religion, the latter an anomaly in a land where religion is supposed to be separate from education.

The school age in Japan is from six to fourteen, the pupil entering the primary school in its sixth year. Attendance there is compulsory for the next six years of life, during which time the child must apply its mind five hours a day six days in the week, with rest on Sundays and national holidays and about one month in summer. The Japanese regard holidays in schools as a sign of physical and mental inferiority, and endeavour to make them as few and as brief as possible. Some schools insist on lessons even during the unbearable heat of summer, when pupils are permitted to attend naked ; and one hears of schools where pupils are made to come, now and then, naked in winter, to test physical endurance.

Before entering the primary school pupils may attend the kindergartens, if there be any in their neighbourhood, but in Japan such schools are as yet few and in a nascent stage. In the whole empire the number of kindergartens is not more than 600, with 60,000 pupils and about 2,000 teachers. Elementary schools are of two kinds, known as the ordinary and the higher ; in many instances both are in the same building. Those pupils that put in the necessary six years at the ordinary primary school may enter the higher department, if they do not enter a secondary school. As a rule the children of all classes attend the same school, though there is a distinct movement toward providing private schools for children of the upper classes, especially in female education, for in many or most of the primary schools the sexes are not segregated.

Though every locality is bound to make provision for all the primary school children within its jurisdiction, the Government does not meet the expenses. Arrangements are often made whereby several small communities may

combine in a school union, spreading the cost of primary education over several villages. Sometimes school grants are afforded to poor communities by the county authorities. The course at the higher elementary school extends from two to three years, as the local authorities decree. All pupils who are able pay a small fee, paupers being exempt. About 65 per cent of primary education in Japan is represented by the lower elementary schools. The number of elementary schools in Japan at present is 25,650, with 178,500 teachers and about 8,500,000 pupils. The curriculum embraces instruction in Japanese ethics, Japanese language, Japanese history, geography, mathematics, science, drawing, singing, gymnastics, and sewing for girls, with manual training for boys ; and during the last three years of the primary course agriculture, commerce and the English language may be added. Though the teaching hours must number from twenty-one to thirty-two per week, exceptions may be permitted as circumstances require, and very young children may be allowed no more than twelve hours a week. All textbooks are provided by the Board of Education at the expense of the pupils, the subjects being treated strictly from a national point of view. Attendance is regular as a rule, over 98 per cent of the children of school age being at school.

While Japan provides sufficient accommodation in the primary grade, in secondary education there is accommodation for scarcely more than half the applicants for admission. From and including the secondary school upwards the education of the sexes is strictly separate ; and even a different standard is set for girls' schools. At present there are 345 secondary schools for boys, with 7,219 teachers and 167,000 pupils, indicating very inadequate accommodation for a population of 57,000,000 of people increasing at the rate of 700,000 a year. Lack of sufficient accommodation is all the more serious in a country where the system is like a machine, and anyone failing to secure secondary

education is excluded from higher and university education. Unsuccessful applicants for admission to higher education are found among the numerous suicides of every year. Without higher education young men cannot hope to secure employment in schools, banks, government offices, commercial houses, nor in the more executive positions in industry. And yet Japan's annual outlay on education by the Government Treasury is little more than 12,000,000 yen, about half the cost of one battleship. If armamental retrenchment in Japan should result in an increase of secondary schools, the outlook for higher education would be more promising. Over against the Government's small appropriation for education, we have an annual outlay of 85,000,000 yen spent by the people themselves, paid not out of their plenty but out of their very limited means.

The Japanese boy has to spend five years at the secondary school, should he be so fortunate as to find room for admission, after which he may take a supplementary course of one year. While it is very difficult to enter a secondary school, there is no difficulty in leaving it ; for everyone must grade and graduate at the appointed time, else some of the long list waiting for admission would be excluded. The result is that many young men possess secondary-school diplomas who are not really entitled to them, having only put in the time but not made the progress implied.

The middle-school curriculum, which covers thirty hours a week, includes Japanese ethics, Japanese language, Chinese classics, the English, French or German language, geography, arithmetic, mathematics, natural history, physics, chemistry, drawing, singing, gymnastics and military .drill. Most stress is laid on the Japanese language, and on Chinese classics, the one being essential to practical education, and the other to a proper understanding of Confucian ethics. Next in importance come mathematics and modern languages, the chief of which is English, for instruc-

tion in which the more important centres employ an English or American to assist the native staff, especially in pronunciation and conversation. Owing to scarcity of middle schools great encouragement is given to private enterprise in this direction, which gives the schools of the Christian missions an excellent opportunity.

Graduates of secondary schools who wish to enter the teaching profession must enter a normal training college and take a course of five years. This education is provided free to those intending to serve seven years in the national schools. There are also higher normal schools for training those who expect to become instructors in high schools. The number of ordinary normal schools is 97 with 1,958 teachers and 28,000 students. Notwithstanding the years of training afforded, the native teacher is often criticized as inefficient, due probably to the methods pursued in Japanese education generally. The Japanese now regard themselves as equal to Western nations in pedagogical attainment, and no longer employ foreigners in this department of science, except as instructors in language only. To compensate for the loss thus sustained a number of graduates are sent abroad every year at Government expense to specialize in certain subjects and then return to give some years of service in schools at home.

Japanese high schools are established for the purpose of preparing graduates of secondary schools for entrance to the various colleges of the Imperial universities. Of these high schools there are now twelve, with four more in preparation. There is the same difficulty in finding admission to high schools as there is to middle schools, so that thousands of young men are thus excluded from the chances of a university education. In all the high schools foreign instructors are employed in English, French and German. In addition to the national high schools there are five commercial high schools, the one in Tokyo having recently been advanced to the position of a commercial

university. At the twelve national high schools there are 456 instructors and about 7,500 students. Girls' high schools are slightly above the grade of middle schools, which accounts for their number, which is now 462, with 5,795 teachers and 131,800 pupils.

The five Imperial universities are at Tokyo, Kyoto, Kyushu, Tohoku and Hokkaido. The Tokyo University has faculties of law, medicine, literature, science, engineering and agriculture, with 377 instructors and 5,233 undergraduates. The university at Kyoto lacks the department of agriculture, and has 172 instructors and over 2,000 students. Tohoku University has colleges of science, agriculture, medicine and engineering only, with 187 instructors and 1,800 students. Hokkaido has a similar institution, with over 900 students. The new university of Kyushu at Fukuoka has 80 instructors and 650 students. Thus all the state universities of Japan have no more than 1,047 instructors and some 9,500 students, a great contrast with the progress of higher education in Canada, for example, where some 8,000,000 of people have greater facilities for higher education and more university students than Japan. But the private universities of Japan are doing much to meet the demands of the public for higher education. The Keio University, in Tokyo, has as many students almost as the Imperial University; while Waseda, founded by the late Prince Okuma, has twice as many; and the Meiji and other smaller institutions are also full. Christian universities, like St. Paul's College, the Aoyama Gakuin, the Meiji Gakuin and the Doshisha, are crowded with undergraduates. The two women's universities in Tokyo are also full. Most of the private universities, however, have fewer faculties than the national institutions, though the quality of the work done is about equal.

Besides the schools of medicine connected with the State and private universities there are various prefectural medical schools, though the education in them is scarcely

up to State standard. The Government also provides a College of Foreign Languages in Tokyo, where all the chief languages of the world are taught by experts both native and foreign. The number of technical schools is ever increasing, with instruction in mechanics, weaving, dyeing, chemistry, architecture, mining and metallurgy, commerce and so on, the total number of such schools now reaching 13,977, with 9,816 teachers and 1,037,000 pupils.

A unique handicap under which Japanese education labours is the necessity of the child devoting the earlier years of school life to the drudgery of memorizing the thousands of ideographs, a command of which is essential to reading, and to acquirement of knowledge. The difficulty might be obviated by substituting the Roman alphabet for the native characters, but as yet prejudice against such a change is too strong. The enslavement of the young mind to this memorizing of word-pictures develop's memory at the expense of reasoning power, and stunts rational growth. For international reasons, too, it is very desirable that Japan should adopt a universal alphabet, since the ideographs are a positive deterrent to acquirement of the Japanese language by Western nations.

4. Expenditure on Education

In Japan education is not absolutely free, except to the very poor and indigent. Most of the schools charge a small fee, which, in elementary schools, amounts to about 10 sen (2½*d.*) a month in rural districts and as much as 20 sen in urban districts. The fee for higher grades is 30 sen for country and 60 sen for city schools. But of the more than 8,000,000 children at school not more than 25,000 are wholly exempt from fees, and not above 100,000 partially exempt.

The salaries paid to the teachers of elementary schools

are much too low to secure efficiency or even ability, averaging, as they do, a little over 18 yen a month, or less than £2. Many of the female teachers get even less than that. For secondary schools the salary averages about 50 yen a month, or less than £5. In secondary schools pupils pay a fee of some 2 yen a month. In high schools the fees range from 30 to 40 yen a year, while the salaries of teachers range from 70 to 120 yen a month. In universities fees and salaries are slightly higher than in high schools. Since the European War, which much raised the cost of living in Japan, all teachers' salaries have been slightly increased.

The cost of education in Japan is borne mainly by the provinces, the national treasury rendering aid where it seems necessary, especially in the way of constructing buildings and increasing the salary of teachers. It has already been pointed out that the Government spends a meagre 12,000,000 yen or so, against about 85,000,000 given by the provinces. The situation may appear more hopeful from the fact that in recent years, with the increase of individual wealth, private munificence has begun to do something toward the endowment of education. Families like the Sumitomo, Okura, Furukawa and others have set a noble example in this way, which others are expected to follow. Perhaps when it is remembered that no nation has yet fully realized the absolute necessity of efficient education to national permanence and progress, the advance that Japan has made in spite of handicaps is all the more to be admired. But until national education receives the same attention and devotion as military and naval education, the progress of the country must continue to be seriously retarded.

CHAPTER XIII

ARTS AND CRAFTS

THIS chapter embraces a brief survey of that aspect of modern Japanese development that could not be so conveniently treated under the caption of industries—the field of applied art.

In the realm of arts and crafts Japan has reached a very high degree of attainment, the origin of which extends back to remote ages. The mythological period of Japanese tradition reveals some traces of the beginnings of art, not unlike those found in the prehistoric remains of European nations. The earliest examples of the idea of art in Japan are figures of men and animals found in dolmens, and other places of ancient sepulture. Although very primitive in both conception and execution, these figures must be regarded as considerably later developments of the race's earliest essays in art. The contents of these ancient tombs show that in prehistoric times the artisans of Japan could forge iron into swords, spear-heads, armour and horse-trappings; and that they could use gold and silver for decorative purposes, as well as cast bronze, and manufacture wheel-turned pottery. There is abundant evidence that in the remoter periods of Japanese history the arts and crafts were highly honoured.

Naturally the first metal-worker on record, a personage descended from prehistoric ages, receives the highest honour and is accorded the rank of deity, being canonized with the warriors of the mythic era. It is clear that the hammerer preceded the sculptor and the painter in Japanese art, and thus prepared the way for the great glyptic artists

of a later period. Another evidence of the early inception of native arts and crafts is seen in the hereditary corporations mentioned in the most ancient chronicles of the nation; there are associations of guilds of priests, metal-workers, weavers and potters. Such institutions appear to have been peculiar to Japan. They make their appearance at the very dawn of the nation's existence; and it is obvious that, whatever country the Yamato came from, they brought these art associations with them.

Not until the introduction of Buddhism, however, does the real history of Japan's arts and crafts begin. Whatever art instinct the Yamato race possessed, it seems to have found no appreciable expression until the stirring inspiration and gorgeous paraphernalia of the Indian faith became a part of the national life. In Japan, as in Europe, religion was the mother of art. Naturally so, for true art is always an attempt to suggest, imitate or develop some divine idea luminous in the visible world—the universal expressing itself in the particular. Hence art has ever been regarded as the handmaid of religion. Yet art in itself is not religion, else nations capable of great art could not have so easily perished. A religion like Buddhism, wherein images and pictures find an important place, naturally lent impetus to sculptural as well as pictorial art, to say nothing of its influence on applied as distinguished from decorative art.

At a very early stage, therefore, the arts and crafts of Japan came under exotic influence, as they were constantly in the keeping of the Korean and the Chinese Buddhist missionaries and others who were brought over from the continent to teach art. It speaks well for the catholicity of the Japanese mind in so distant a period that these foreign artists should have found so cordial a welcome in the country. Indeed, Japan seems to have offered great attractions to the most æsthetically minded of her continental neighbours. In the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. Japan was not so convulsed by dynastic changes as

China, and so pursued a policy of receiving with open arms from that country all who could add to her knowledge or capacity, a spirit still at work in the modernization of Japan.

And Japan set up no narrow racial distinctions between men's claims to the gratitude of the State. In one of the nation's oldest historical records, a list of peers compiled in A.D. 814, out of a total of 1,117 noble families enumerated as representing the aristocracy, no fewer than 381 traced their descent from Chinese or Korean ancestors. To this stream of immigration, with its fresher brain and blood, Japan owed much of the rapid art development of the Heian era. Even after national art started on an independent career, it constantly refreshed its inspiration by a careful study and imitation of Chinese models : and even down to the present day Chinese subjects may be said to preponderate in the classical art of Japan. It must not be forgotten, however, that Japan's earliest arts were practical or applied rather than æsthetic and creative ; and to this aspect of development our attention here must be particularly directed.

1. The Cradle of Yamato Art

While it has to be admitted that the beginnings of art in the ancient Yamato empire came from India and China, it was nevertheless the case that in the old capital at Nara, the Florence of Japan, the new artistic impulse found its cradle of nurture and development. In the first Buddhist images and pictures brought to Japan it is easy to trace resemblances to the contemporary Gandhara period in India ; while the wall pictures of the Horyuji temple in Yamato, one of the oldest sacred edifices in Japan, suggest the frescoes of the caves of Ajunta. Numerous relics of metal and lacquer work, ceramics, and textile fabrics, indicate that in this period Japan was not only in com-

munication with China and Korea, but with India, if not even with the regions beyond. In the capital at Nara, where the Imperial Court resided from A.D. 709 to 784, four sovereigns reigned in succession ; during which period the art of the nation began to lay serious claim to high achievement. In previous periods, when the capital moved with each new occupant of the Throne, art had no settled home. With the permanent settlement of the Imperial Court at Nara, art found a safe abiding place, beautiful temples were erected, with highly wrought designs in wood and metal to decorate them, and enshrining images and other objects indicating a remarkable degree of attainment.

There is still at Nara a wooden museum called the *shoso-in*, which for eleven centuries or more has been kept intact to store the most ancient art relics of the nation, including domestic utensils and ornaments, most of them associated with the names of emperors who ruled at Nara. This building is quite unique in the history of art. There is some difficulty in determining, and even distinguishing, the origin of some of the art objects in the *shoso-in*, but a catalogue dating back to A.D. 756 indicates what is of Korean and Chinese origin, the inference being that all not so enumerated are of Japanese creation. It is probably going too far, however, to assume that so many of the undesignated art objects could have been produced in Japan at a period when decorative designs had not yet developed their distinctive character. The problem here is that of how to know when one is dealing with the work of the Chinese teacher and when with that of the Japanese pupil. If the objects indicated are really the work of native artists, then it must be concluded that the workers of the eighth century could sculpture delicately and minutely ; could inlay metal with shell and amber ; could apply cloisonné decorations to objects of gold, using silver cloisons ; could work skilfully in lacquer, black or golden ; could encrust gold with jewels, chisel metal in designs

à jour or in the round; could cast bronze by the *cira-pardue* process; could overlay wood with ivory or inlay it with mother-of-pearl, gold or silver; could weave rich brocades, and paint decorative designs on wood, overlaying them with translucent varnish. That such a degree of artistic and technical skill could have been attained by the Japanese at so remote a period seems to some very doubtful. But how, again, is one to get over the difficulty of attributing to China and Korea art work that is also undoubtedly above the level of these countries at that period?

Of course it is a fact that in such fields as painting, porcelain, bronze-casting, cloisonné enamel, cameo-glass making, weaving and embroidery, China excelled anything to be found in contemporary Japan, but in sculpture the pupils were able, under the inspiration of the new religion, to carry conception and execution far beyond the precepts of their Chinese and Korean instructors. This is especially true in the matter of bell-making. The great bell in the Todaiji temple at Nara was cast in A.D. 732: it is 12 feet high, 9 inches thick and weighs 49 tons. The colossal statue of Buddha at Nara, 53 feet in height, is another example of the art of this period. The great bell-caster of that day was Kunio; and in wood-carving and sculpture such names as Gyoki and Bunkei have come down to us as supreme in their art. In terra-cotta and lacquer, too, evidence of high attainment is seen.

2. The Bronze Workers

The marvellous artistic achievements of the Nara period show how early Japan attained high skill in all kinds of metal-work, more particularly in bronze. But since it is a skill for heavy work mainly, it would be an error to assign Japan the palm in bronze-casting skill. Her wood-carvings are generally superior to those of China and Korea, and

in bronze, too, Japanese artists produced some castings of matchless art, like the immortal statue of Amida at Kamakura, but for excellency of design and accuracy of technique China was supreme, while the Koreans were superior in relief decorations. Nowhere in the Orient, however, has there been any approach to Ancient Greece as an interpreter of form. The oriental artist in bronze was unable to appreciate the contour of the human body, or to mould a form after the divine model of the Greeks. China has produced a few models in bronze whose graceful lines compel admiration, but in Japan there is seldom excellence of this sort except at the cost of originality. It has to be admitted, however, that in giant statuary superiority rested with the East. The Spartans had to hammer out on a model the bronze plates for the statue of Zeus ; but the Chinese learned the art of hollow casting in remote antiquity, and handed it on to Japan.

During the Heian era, from 794 to 1183, there is evidence of continued excellence in Japanese metal-work of all kinds, due mainly to the demand for armour and its accessories by the warrior class. And all through the Kamakura period, from 1183 to 1332, chiselling, casting and hammered work advanced in the direction of greater elaboration and finer technique. Bronzes having decoration in relief did not make such marked progress. Although the Japanese, early in the fourteenth century, had received matchless examples of bronze work from China, with the peony scroll in relief, it was not until the close of the sixteenth century that fine specimens of Korean work brought over by the predatory troops of Hideyoshi gave any determining impulse to the adoption of similar decorations in Japan. Thereafter we find Japanese artists in bronze making stupahs, lamps, vases, pricket-candlesticks, censers, pagodas, gates, pillar-caps and all the other ornaments of the Buddhist faith, which one sees in such profusion at the Tokugawa mausolea in Tokyo, where there is abundance of native

skill in great variety. The process went on till Chinese shapes were covered with Korean decorations, heralding a new departure in bronze-work. The movement soon became apparent in household ornaments, such as flower vases and censers, which up to this time had been made in other metals only. It was not until the seventeenth century, therefore, that in Japan the art of casting bronze became so delicate and refined that its products could rank with the choicest specimens of glyptic art. Among the names that stand out most prominently in this branch of Japanese art are those of Kamé, Seinin, Jouin, Masatsumé, Teijo, Sonin, Keisei, Gido and Takusai, in the older period ; while in modern times Suzuki, Okazaki, Hasegawa, Jomi and Jouin have produced work equal to anything done by the old masters.

3. Other Metals

Japan is a country of contrasts, and nowhere is this more obvious than in the nation's art. The difference between the colossal statues of Buddha in bronze, at Kamakura and Nara, and the exquisite temple and parlour ornaments in bronze of a later period is assuredly vast ; and in the same way one may note the contrast between the cyclopean mediæval castles of Japan and the tiny metal-work ornaments that may be said to constitute the nation's jewellery. As time went on the Japanese artist turned from giant forms to small, from bronze to other metals, and thereafter in all lines of diminutive metal-work the glyptic artists of Japan stand unrivalled ; especially when it is remembered that here they owe nothing to foreign inspiration.

As an example of forging, the Japanese sword was unique ; but it was not really more original than the metal ornaments it carried. In all forms of sword furniture the Japanese artist in metal displayed remarkable excellence. Unlike Western weapons of this class, the Japanese sword

had nine adjuncts, in every one of which the native artists produced peerless specimens of sculpture and metallurgic processes. Some of these pieces are idyls of pictorial art, equal to the tiny scenes on Greek pottery. The artist in this sort of work apparently loved to expend the most patient effort on the least conspicuous parts of the object so decorated, partly because loyalty to his art demanded it, and partly because he wished to protest against any striving after ostentation, content that the eyes of the gods could see.

Representing exquisite achievements in metal-work there are thirteen generations of the Goto family, extending from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, each of which excelled in some specialty of technique or decorative design : as, for example, the Yokoya experts who invented *katakiribori* in which every line has its own value in the pictorial scheme ; the Nagoya masters famous for their wood-grained grounds on metal ; the Myochin family in whose hands iron was as tractable as wood ; the Nagayoshi who were renowned for inlaying ; the Kisai artists associated with fine carving *à jour* ; and there are numerous other names almost equally celebrated.

In this kind of art must be included *netsuké* also, those minute but none the less delightful objects revealing as much the art of the metal-worker as the skill of the sculptor. The art which India had learned from Persia in the carving of ivory and wood, and which China had developed in carving the tusks of the elephant and the horns of the rhinoceros, attained its full range of conception only in Japan where it reveals a wealth of fancy, realistic, conventional, grave, humorous and grotesque, in the making of *netsuké*, that has no equal anywhere. With the passing of the old-time pipe-case and tobacco-pouch, on which these tiny ornaments were used as fobs or buttons, the day of the *netsuké* ended ; and then the glyptic artists found other fields for skill in the sculpturing of ivory

statuettes and the production of various utensils and ornaments of impressive beauty. In silver salvers, tea and coffee services, fruit dishes, napkin rings, spoons and other table furniture, the work of the Japanese artist has a beauty of its own, all made by the hand of a master and not cast, as much of such work is abroad. The demand for cheap art, however, is forcing the Japanese metal-worker down to the level of his customers, resulting only too often in mere decorative effect more than artistic merit.

4. Ivory and Wood

It has been shown how Buddhism from the first lent great impetus to wood sculpture ; for when metal could not be had, or was too expensive, wood could always afford material for imposing images of gods and saints, as well as to adorn, in fine carvings, the temple friezes and gates. Few examples of the wood-carver's art now remain, as, unlike bronze work, wood was subject to destruction by fire. A wooden statue by the famous Shiba Tori, A.D. 623, is still preserved in the Horyuji temple. Later centuries fail to show carvers of great talent and skill. In the ninth and tenth centuries the names of Kosho and his son Jocho were noted, and Unkei of the Kamakura period. The art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in wood, was confined to exterior embellishment of temples, fine examples of which are seen at Nikko in pillars, panels, beams, brackets, animals, birds and flowers. The greatest names of this period were those of Kawachi and Jingoro.

With the development of the lyric drama, the *No* and the rise of puppet theatres, there was a new employment for carvers in the making of masks, in which certain artists attained to great fame, notably Kodama and Matsumoto, the work of the latter finding its way abroad. Among modern wood-carvers and sculptors the names of Takamura Koun and Takenouchi Kyuchi are prominent. In both

ivory and wood the art is suffering at present from want of patronage. Most of the work in wood and ivory now goes abroad, about 90 per cent of it finding export, chiefly to the United States. The old carvers in ivory were forced to work on small bits of tusk, big enough to produce *netsuké*, but the modern carver may have a whole tusk to himself, and has an unlimited field, if he so desires; but most of the artists in ivory prefer to work in decorative objects for foreign customers, a task more lucrative than inspiring, compelled, as they are, to think of time and contract, unlike the old days when the artist was moved by genius and ideal conception. That there appears to be no great appreciation of ivory-carving among the Japanese themselves may be due to its high cost and the unsuitability of Japanese houses for such objects. Progress in the art of ivory-carving, however, is more marked at present than in wood-carving. The wood-sculptor has fallen on evil days in Japan. The successors of those inimitable artists who produced the wonderful friezes of the Nikko temples must now descend to the carving of table-legs and table-tops, trays and screen frames, and even to the making of toys. In this work of cabinet-making, or *sashimono*, as the Japanese call it, there is some opportunity for the display of fine artistic skill in carving, and in such objects as *tansu* (chests of drawers), brazier boxes, tea-trays, some really beautiful work is being done. Here the skill of the joiner combines with that of the sculptor and painter to produce caskets and cabinets worthy of all admiration.

5. Ceramics

The making of porcelain and pottery generally is, of course, one of the oldest and most highly developed of Japanese arts. Introduced originally from China and Korea, and improved under the steady tutelage of continental teachers, the ceramic art of Japan early attained

a great degree of excellence, especially under patronage of the leading feudal lords who encouraged the craft of the potter to meet the needs of the people as well as to vie with other daimyo in possessing the finest specimens of the art. With the decline of feudalism pottery suffered a relapse, and the number of districts engaged in it considerably lessened. With the opening of Japan to occidental commerce pottery became more a craft than an art. The Meiji Government imported experts from abroad to introduce new methods of manufacture and the use of foreign pigments in decoration; after which the greater centres, like Mino, Kyoto, Aichi and Arita, began to emulate one another in the new movement, a sad departure from the art of the old masters.

Although collectors generally speak of Japanese porcelain in accents of enthusiasm, it must be admitted that the Japanese artist in porcelain, as distinguished from faience, never rose quite to the level of his Chinese teacher. The pottery of Imari, called in Europe Old Japan Ware, with its deep-toned fields and crowded designs; the Nabeshima porcelain, which stood for a more aristocratic type of ceramic art; the Kutani ware with its brilliant, richly massed enamels; and the Hirado pottery in delicate blue *sous couverte*: all these go to testify to the æsthetic sobriety of Japanese taste, and may be regarded as forming the four great divisions of porcelain on which the fame of the Japanese ceramists must rest. Yet, in the opinion of experts, Japanese porcelains, on the whole, are considered inferior to the masterpieces of China with their wonderful monochromes, in indescribably delicate *clair-de-lune* or faultless liquid-dawn; or the Chinese hawthorns, soft paste blue and white, bean blossom, transmutation glaze, eggshell, femille-rose and other incomparable creations. But if the masterpieces of Japanese porcelain must pale before this galaxy of brilliant varieties from China, it is not so in faience, which the Chinese artist was prone to regard with

contempt, but in which the Japanese potter most excelled. The choicest specimens of old Satsuma and Kyoto ware hold undisputed prominence in the realm of faience.

While the ceramists of modern Japan do not seek to build their fame on reproducing the masterpieces of the past, they really do turn out work equally fine, and in much greater variety, at the same time adapting their art to the needs of current markets at home and abroad. This is not to deny that foreign influence has forced deterioration.

Instinctively the Japanese artist in porcelain still turns to China for models; he knows that the Kanghsi, Yung-cheng and Chienlung masters stand on a pedestal to which he must climb before essaying independent flight. Though the Japanese ceramist has produced many notable pieces of beautiful porcelain, the liquid-dawn monochrome of his Chinese master still eludes him. In ivory-white, céladon, blue *sous couverte*, enamelled painting over glaze, translucid decoration and various sub-glaze colours, such as red-green, yellow-black, the Japanese potter has admirably succeeded.

At present there are some fifteen places in Japan noted as centres for the production of artistic pottery, among which the more distinguished are Kyoto, Hizen, Seto, Mino, Kaga, Satsuma, Arita, Imari and Tokyo. In porcelain, as in many other arts, the difficulty is to find patronage for the patience and application of genius necessary to the production of masterpieces. In the United States, where there is a growing demand for Japanese pottery, there has been an improvement in taste during recent years, but generally speaking, the chief demand there, as elsewhere, is for hasty production and gaudy decoration. The call for inartistic products, turned out in cargoes like brick, has reacted unfavourably on ceramic art in Japan. There is at last a move being made to eliminate at least the most vulgar mixtures of Japanese

and foreign elements in form and decoration. Some of the modern porcelains, produced for patrons willing to pay for them, are exquisitely beautiful, and not unworthy of the past. Even the common table-ware of the poorest Japanese is infinitely more artistic than that of the wealthier classes in Western countries. This makes it clear that it is lack of taste on the part of occidentals rather than high cost that results in the enormity of decoration made for foreign export.

6. Cloisonné Enamel

This is another of the delightful arts that Japan acquired from China. In no craft have they made more rapid development in recent years. In old Japan the process of enclosing vitrifiable enamels in designs traced with cloisons was employed solely for the decoration of sword furniture and other subordinate purposes; but Kaji Tsunekichi, in the nineteenth century, extended its use to the manufacture of vases, censers and bowls. At first the Japanese did not approach the Chinese in grandeur of colour and perfection of technique, their shades being always sombre and often impure; but this period of inferiority soon gave way to work of high skill, showing specimens with remarkable richness of decoration and purity of design, as well as admirable harmony of colour. New departures were made by the introduction of cloisonless enamel, known as *musen-jippo*, and translucent enamel. In this connexion the names of the two Namikawas, and of Ando and Hattori, deserve special honour. The use of silver, instead of copper, as a base, and the setting of designs on the surface in greater relief by the *ishimé* process, indicate still more the recent progress of the art. Ando has successfully imitated the French process of translucent designs, and Ota is producing the red monochrome that is the ambition of all workers in this beautiful craft.

7. Lacquer

On account of the high excellence it has attained in form, design and execution, as well as on account of the remarkable patience and skill required in its successful manufacture, *makiye*, or lacquer work, must rank among the nobler efforts of æsthetic ambition. The designs in lacquer range from great simplicity to elaborate decoration, while the wonderful glow and sheen of the gold, silver and other variously coloured lacquers represent something that is a joy for ever. Like other Japanese arts, lacquer first came from China, and that very early, as it is mentioned in the oldest chronicles of Japan. Articles in this craft are preserved in museums and temples that date as far back as the sixth century of our era.

The earlier work appears to have been in black, often inlaid with mother-of-pearl; and mother-of-pearl on a gold ground is evident in the tenth century, while boxes with light gold, with fence work, flower petals and birds, have come down from the twelfth century. By the fifteenth century decoration expanded into floral and conventional landscapes, as well as figures and architectural themes. In the process of time the Japanese artist in lacquer seems to have surpassed his Chinese masters, especially after the fourteenth century. The carved cinnabar lacquer of China, of course, has no equal anywhere; but in other forms the Japanese artist showed unapproachable excellence. In the second half of the fifteenth century the dilettanti shogun, Yoshimasa, established tea-clubs which demanded various artistic utensils in lacquer, when the craftsmen of Japan soon began to produce the beautiful gold lacquer with decorated designs in relief, known as *taka-makiye*, as well as *nashiji*, or lacquer with adventurine ground, resulting in a long succession of exquisite specimens, and culminating in the elaborate decorations applied to the interior of the Tokugawa mausolea

in Tokyo and Nikko. The summit of development was reached in the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the output was as artistic as it was extensive.

In the eighteenth century the names of Sonsen-sai, Chohei, Jokasai, Tayo, Kokyo, Hirosé and Eki were among the most notable artists in lacquer, and in the nineteenth century the craft was considerably improved by Zeshin and his pupils Hobi and Jaishin. In modern times Uyematsu Honin and Shirayama Shosai have no equals. Indeed, the work of the lacquer artist to-day is quite up to that of any of his predecessors. All the finest pieces of the past were made to order, just as it must be with the best work now. It is impossible to form any adequate conception of the wonderful variety of designs and the endless combination of colours and materials over which the modern craftsman holds magic command.

While conventional forms and stereotyped designs, excellent in their way, continued to fascinate foreign admirers of the art, the craftsmen were bent on breaking away from such monotony, and in recent years have been endeavouring to produce objects in bolder and more animated designs, based on nature. The Japanese, as a rule, reveal simple taste in lacquer, such as the plain severe black, or *nashiji*, of the seventeenth century, with, perhaps, a spray of plum or cherry blossom, or a bird soaring toward the rising moon or rising sun. Foreign patrons, however, usually prefer the more elaborate and overcrowded work of the Genroku period, inlays of mother-of-pearl or coral, various metals with special use of gold. But no Western mind has a full appreciation of this art in the same sense as the Japanese; and consequently lacquer has always been more valued in Japan than abroad, though the demand for better work in occidental countries is increasing. Even in Japan the best pieces have always been purchased by the Imperial Family, to be used as gifts for great personages and foreign potentates.

8. Weaving and Embroidery

As one of the earliest industries of the nation, weaving gradually began to reveal the development and originality of an art. In the oldest annals of Japan it is mentioned as an avocation of goddesses, in the mythology of the country; and corporations of figured-cloth weavers are mentioned as existing in A.D. 10. From this it appears that the art of weaving was practised in Japan from immemorial time, and China and Korea contributed materially to its development. Embroidery, too, must have been an ancient art of Japan; for embroidered representations of Buddha, 16 feet long, are mentioned in the sixth century A.D., and the older temples of Japan have specimens of this art dating from remote antiquity. Both weaving and embroidery received marked impetus from certain schools of actors whose theatres required elaborately woven and embroidered robes lending spectacular effect to the drama. In connexion with the *no-kyogen*, or lyrical drama, Japan in time became the possessor of such stores of textile fabrics as have never been excelled anywhere in point of richness of quality, beauty of design and delicacy of technique. Many of these famous collections have been dispersed abroad, where they serve to denote the achievements of old Japan; but the present-day exponents of these arts and crafts are in no way behind their predecessors. The modern brocades of Japan are, perhaps, not always superior to those of the old masters, but on the whole they afford very favourable comparison with the best of the past. Especially in *tzuzure-nishiki*, or tapestry, the manufacturer of to-day has far out-distanced his ancestors in the art; while in embroidery the present masterpieces, in their wonderful chiaroscuro effects and aerial perspective, are away beyond anything that the past has produced; and the remarkable cut-velvets of the Kyoto artists have made an entirely new addition to the list of art fabrics.

In silk brocade the Japanese artist can produce any scene from nature, or any pattern selected, with his tiny loom and threads of silk and gold. This is now the most highly prized of all Japan's textiles, but such products can be afforded only by great personages, and even these wear them only on important occasions. During the last fifty years the art of weaving silk brocade has made marvellous progress under Kawashima Jimbei of Kyoto, who received much encouragement from the late Emperor Meiji. It was he who undertook the matchless creations in this art which the late Emperor presented to the Palace of Peace at the Hague. One of the finest pieces of silk tapestry in the world is in the Imperial Palace at Tokyo, a magnificent creation, 18 feet by 25 feet, which took several years to complete. Only a genius of great originality and inspiration could have produced the masterpieces in this art to be seen only in Japan.

9. Pictorial Art

In the past foreigners have been prone to treat Japanese art as for the most part decorative art, quite satisfied if they have taken a scant review of the nation's porcelain, pottery, lacquer, carving and colour prints, without making any study of its creative or pictorial art at all. This was in some measure due to the fact that the masterpieces of Japanese painting were hidden away as treasures, and the world was ignorant of the existence of such works as Japan can show. In recent years, however, these have been brought from their hiding-places and put on view in the great museums and galleries of the nation, and the wealth of Japan's artistic achievements have become better known. After all, it must be admitted that a nation's applied or industrial arts and crafts are but the overflow of the shaping and inventing energy as well as the inspiration of her creative or free arts. The decoration of things

of use and luxury is but the reflection of designs emanating from the mind of the great masters of the brush and the chisel.

Pictorial art is one of Japan's oldest creations, introduced, like other and kindred arts, from Korea and China. In the hands of Kanaoka in the ninth century the national pictorial art began to show some signs of breaking away from slavish imitation of the Chinese masters; but the painting of Japan did not completely find itself until the eleventh century when the Tosa school appeared at Nara. Before this there had been the Yamato school, established by Motomitsu, which contained in itself most of the peculiarities that have characterized Japanese painting ever since, such as neglect of perspective, impossible mountains, quaint dissection of roofless interiors, and devotion to insects and hobgoblins. This school finally evolved into the Tosa school of painters, and thenceforward devoted itself more to classical subjects. The Tosa painters were intent on the national manners and customs of the past, and included a long line of brilliant names down to Mitsuoki of the seventeenth century, who painted the thirty-six poets for the Toshogu at Nikko. From the Tosa school arose another line of artists with Kosin at their head, producing richly decorated pieces in coloured ink, depicting scenes and things in nature. In more modern times the honours of the Tosa school have been worthily upheld by Kobori.

The Kano school of painters, an imitation of the northern school of China, arose in the fourteenth century, producing an extended list of great names like Shoku, Suten and finally Masanobu, whose works are still to be seen in various temples. The fifteenth century is generally regarded as the most glorious period of painting in Japan, as indeed, by strange coincidence, it was in Italy. In Japan Chodenzu, Josetsu and others achieved great fame in the depiction of Buddhist subjects. Mitsunobu of the Tosa school,

and Sesshu, Shubun and Masanobu of the Kano school, also added glory to the art. The Kano school, even down to the present day, has continued to be the stronghold of classicism in Japanese painting, by which is meant a close adherence to Chinese models and subjects at second-hand. The quiet, harmonious colouring and the bold caligraphic drawing of the old masters have justly excited the emulation of succeeding generations, though the circle of ideas in which the old masters moved was too restricted to command universal admiration. It was under the influence of the caligraphic art of the southern school of China that the Bunjinja school arose in Japan, a school noted for the elegance and beauty of its brush-work, and of which Kazan was a master.

One of the great names of the Kano school, Maruyama Okyo, founded a school bearing his name in the eighteenth century, its leading feature being a faithful adherence to nature. Keibun, Tokochiko, Gyokusho, and Bunkyo who died some time ago, were all brilliant pupils of Okyo. The Shijo school of painters, notably Takenouchi, showed admirable independence in the direction of a pure Japanese style, practising a graceful naturalism ; while the school of everyday life, known as the *Ukiyo-é*, devoted itself to the manners and customs of the common people of the streets. The beginning of this popular movement in Japanese art may be traced back to the droll sketches of Iwasa Matahei in the sixteenth century, and the idea was later developed by Moronobu and Hanabusa, who illustrated books in popular style in colour. The influence of Okyo, who made a sincere attempt to paint with the eye on nature, did something to turn the public mind to things natural and real, and a whole host of artists arose portraying life around them, releasing art from the cold conventionalities of Chinese taste and bringing it down to the society of living men and women. One of the greatest names in this artisan school was that of Hokusai, who from 1780 to

1849 poured forth a continuous stream of novel and vigorous creations covering the whole range of Japanese motives, and resulting in those wonderful colour-prints for which Japan has become justly famous. Other noted names of the *genré* school were those of Toyokuni, Kunisada, Shigenobu, Hiroshigé and Kyonobu. Utamaro and Hokusai were also important in this connexion. The last of the masters of this school was Kyosai, who survived until 1889, his main themes, with grim appropriateness, being the ghosts and skeletons of the past.

After the opening of Japan to Western civilization and art, the painters had serious difficulties with which to contend, just as their ancestors before them had when Japan came into contact with the influence of China; with this difference however, that when Japan came under the tutelage of China, in art as in other things, she had no traditions and nothing to unlearn, but everything to learn; but when she came face to face with the Occident, Japan had an immense tradition to overcome, and a long line of artists to demand her loyalty. Art, like religion, is something inseparable from the soul of a race; and the result will wholly depend on the attitude of mind to the world. In that attitude the religion and the mind of Japan differed profoundly from Europe. At first it was supposed that everything foreign, including art, was superior; and native masters, like Hogai and Kyosai, were neglected, the pupils flocking to the new art teachers imported from Europe by the Government. But even the foreigners themselves, led by Professor Fenollosa, opposed the aversion from the old masters and did something to stay the wild rush to escape the past, and so evade all pretence to originality. Thus when the national school of fine art was founded in 1886 Hogai and Gaho were its chief teachers. A brave attempt was made to preclude the old, native artistic individuality, from being lost during the absorbing interest in the art of the West.

Devoted as some Japanese artists have been to the Western style of painting, Japan has not yet produced her Turners or Tintorets ; nor at the same time has she given the world anything in native style worthy of universal appeal.

It is a grave question with some whether the pictorial art of Japan has made much progress since the days of Okyo and Motonobu, while others even doubt whether at any time Japan has risen above the level of her Chinese masters, especially in the delineation of landscape with noble breadth of design, subtle relation of tones, splendid caligraphy, force and all-pervading sense of poetry, such as one sees in the materpieces of the Tang, Sung and Yuan epochs, and which have been at once the ideal and the inspiration of the artists of Japan. But just as the glyptic art of Japan won triumphs of its own in such spheres as *netsuké* and sword furniture, the pictorial art of the nation has revealed its special genius in the Tosa and the *Ukiyo-é* painters and their successors in modern times. Though the nation seems at the parting of the ways in art at present, at a loss whether to follow the West or to rely on the inspiration and example of its own past, there is no doubt that the artist of Japan will eventually find himself, however difficult it may be for him to get away from convention, Occidental or Oriental. Even as the Tosa painters had no peers in China in the way of historical illustrators, combining the realistic and the decorative in admirable manner, so the modern painters of Japan will ultimately contradict the contention that they are degenerating into hybrid schools with the virtues of neither East nor West.

The Tosa school found its inspiration in the camp, the castle and the battlefield ; and the *Ukiyo-é* in the voluptuous æstheticism and the refined sensuality of the boudoir and the bagnio ; but the painters of new Japan will not fall into the austerities resulting from war on the one hand, nor the vices resulting from idle peace on the other. They

live in an age of transition without any traits sufficiently marked to arouse enthusiasm or inspire ideals. The age is indeed too materialistic for real inspiration. Bunkyo and Imao have explored the naturalistic field; Kawabata and Watanabé have been groping in the æsthetic realm; Kuroda and Miyaké have boldly adopted occidental canons of art: all these have produced pictures and are still producing them, none of which, perhaps, are quite worthy to hang with the old masters. But as the noise and confusion of the transition period cease and the era of doubt passes, the era of achievement approaches. When achievement arrives will it reveal more of what is Japanese or more of what is foreign?

There are those who wisely hope that the artists of Japan will aim at maintaining the nation's reputation in the field of art after the native rather than after the foreign manner; as in the old ways they are more likely to succeed. If Japan's fame is not to suffer she must aspire to achievement in lines that do not come closely into competition with Western art.

Japanese painting is distinguished by directness, facility and strength of line, revealing a bold dash that is probably due to the habit of writing and drawing from the elbow rather than from the wrist. The merest sketch has, therefore, a caligraphic quality that gives it merit. Though it may be faultlessly accurate in natural details, it scorns to be tied down to any rules. The bird may be perfect, but the tree only a conventional, shorthand symbol; the bamboo lifelike, but part of it blurred by an artificial atmosphere that never was on sea or land. The Japanese artist is a poet and not a photographer; he is painting memories and feelings, not scenes or objects. Had he breadth of view and great genius he might produce something grand; but he aims at condensation, not expansion. He is intensive rather than extensive, believing that the divine begins where the visibility ends.

Perhaps it is because Japanese art has been used so much in decoration that its peculiarities have been over-emphasized; for who would look on the side of a teapot for a rigid observance of perspective? And so, while in broad surfaces Japanese art has won no great place, as decoration for smaller surfaces it has already conquered the world. In this way Japanese art has discovered the truth that mechanical symmetry does not make for beauty. Western art aims at the complete realization of a scene, whether observed or imagined, while the Japanese artist is concerned only with abstracting the reality by reproducing for the spectator the emotion evoked in the artist; and all not tending toward this end is omitted. Occidental artists are to-day devoting more attention to this spiritual presentation of life than to the pursuit of realism for its own sake; and thus they are more closely approaching the Japanese ideal. This the Japanese artist is himself beginning to realize in some measure; and the more he does so the less likely he is to abandon the native for the foreign tradition. While adopting occidental superiority in knowledge of perspective, anatomy, light and shadow, the Japanese artist will preserve his own ideals and have more regard to motive and nature and man than to the mere crust of society and civilization. It would indeed be a misfortune if the new Japan should allow its ideas to be clogged or its ideals to be swamped with Western materialism, or that her artists should surrender their delicacy, suggestiveness and reticence of power for mere imitation of some occidental ideal, losing touch with the life of Japan. Many of the foremost artists of the country have already come to the conclusion that greatness can never lie in a combination of qualities that do not harmoniously blend. The distinctive virtues of Japanese and occidental art can never be united without losing something of individuality and charm. Art, however, must always be a criticism of life, or nothing; and the future of Japanese

art depends on the moral and spiritual ideals of Japan herself. The present confusion prevailing in this respect accounts for the corresponding confusion in the world of national art.

10. Sculpture, Colour Prints and Illustrations

Sculpture, which used to be one of Japan's fine arts, has not been so now for centuries. While stone gods and saints were doubtless more durable than those in wood, the latter material was preferred as more amenable to the tools available. But the static poses of Buddhist statuary have chilled the native ideal and resulted in a decline of aspiration and skill, that no effort appears able to overcome. Serious attempts are, nevertheless, being made toward revival; but most of the recent essays in marble and plaster are too close an imitation of occidental art, and too trivial, or lacking in force of conception, to claim the attribute of genius, or even kinship with Western masters.

In art processes, on the other hand, Japan is more highly distinguishing herself. If she cannot paint modern masterpieces, or carve or cast great statues, she can at least print them as nearly like the originals as any copy can well be. In *nishikiye*, the art of colour-printing, marvellous progress has been made in recent years. The magnificent reproductions of ancient masterpieces, by the *Shimbei Shoin*, place the vast treasury of the nation's pictorial art at the disposal of the public. The introduction of aniline dyes has created a revolution in colour-printing. The divorce between creative and decorative art still persists, and is much to be deplored, influenced as it is by mere commercialism. To a large extent modern lithography is driving the old art of xylography from the field, while photography is displacing the old art of the illustrator in books and periodicals. Some of the colour-prints to-day are produced by the photographic process. But as the print is a

more exact copy of the original than the old processes produced, no one can complain. Under the old process not more than ten colours were employed, while under the new process as many as a hundred tints are common.

Officially everything possible is being done to encourage devotion to art in Japan. The art of the architect we have not discussed because its development has been almost wholly in an occidental direction. The best examples of native architecture, as seen in ancient temples, the Government is doing everything to preserve. An Academy of Fine Art in Tokyo is supported by the Government, and annual exhibitions are held to show the work of the year. Care is taken to see that none of the old masterpieces leave the country, and funds are supported to buy back those that have left Japan. The art treasures of Tokyo suffered seriously in the earthquake and fire of September, 1923, especially those in the Imperial Museum. At present the appearance of an old master on the market creates universal attention. Pictures by Korin have been knocked down at over 100,000 yen, as well as masterpieces by Okyo. At the annual exhibition of present-day masters more than 3,000 pictures are offered, but seldom more than 300 selected to be placed in the gallery.

CHAPTER XIV

LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

JAPAN has an extensive literature, but it is not of a nature and content that appeals to the occidental mind. As writing was not introduced for a thousand years after the foundation of the Empire, there was, of course, no literature until then, the first traces of which begin with the establishment of the capital at Nara at the beginning of the eighth century. Japanese historians claim that the ancient records of the nation were committed to writing as early as the fourth century of our era, but it is improbable that writing was introduced long before the advent of Buddhism, about the middle of the sixth century, when Chinese influence gained increasing power. It was under the inspiration of Buddhist scholars that Japanese literature began to dawn.

It is well to bear in mind, however, that literature in Japan and Japanese literature are two very different things, as unlike indeed as the Latin writings of medieval Europe and the native languages where classical compositions flourished. As medieval scholars wrote in Latin, so did Japanese scholars long continue to write in Chinese, the ideographs being the only means of writing known to the Japanese. The higher officials of State and the priests had a monopoly of learning; and up to the eighth century all writing was Chinese in form and diction. As the mass of the people could neither remember nor understand the Chinese ideographs, a native syllabary of forty-seven sounds was invented about the eighth century, known as

the *kana*. This syllabary came to be constantly mixed with the ideographs to express the pronunciation for the unlearned, or to form the suffix used as inflection. By this means the Japanese were at last able to express in writing the vernacular speech of the country, but it retained sufficient of Chinese influence to remain a literary language quite distinct from the spoken language. In all languages the colloquial is not quite the same as the written language, but in Japanese the difference is so great as to imply two different languages.

The earliest literary product of Japan is that marvellous summary of sacred tradition known as the *Kojiki*, or Record of Ancient Things, compiled by Imperial command about A.D. 712. Like the book of Genesis, it is composed of traditions giving an account of creation, the origin of the Imperial Family, the history of the Japanese people, and the general status of the country down to the era immediately preceding the book itself. The volume is valuable to the student of literature, as it reveals the nature of Japan's earliest literary impulse. The Bible shows what that impulse was among the Jews ; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle what it was among our own ancestors. Japan is represented as a theocracy, passing through an age of song and poetry before reaching the age of prose.

Nine years after the *Kojiki*, appeared another compilation entitled the *Nihongi*, bringing the national story down to the end of the seventh century, but as the volume was chiefly in Chinese its only literary value in this connexion is that it preserves some examples of the earliest Japanese verse. The chief depository of Japanese literature in its beginnings is that remarkable anthology of the Nara period called the *Manyoshu*, or Collection of Myriad Leaves, wherein the choicest utterances in existing verse were garnered, and which still remains the most valuable memorial of the intellectual awakening that followed

Japan's first intercourse with China. Poets and scholars now began to flock around the Imperial Court, and a real national literature was beginning to appear. The native syllabary soon became so improved as to lend itself to a more natural expression of native speech and intelligently to supplant the foreign ideographs in literature.

When the next anthology, the *Kokinshu*, was published in A.D. 900 by order of the Emperor Daigo, it proved to be a collection of songs and poems evidencing a fuller fruition of poetic excellence. The capital of the empire had moved from Nara to Kyoto, where it became fixed; and during the succeeding four centuries there was a rapid development in literature. The nation had done something worth writing about, but not such as to lend an epic impulse to poetry. These were centuries of serene evolution, when the ruling classes entered on a period of intellectual and social development, culture, refinement and elegance of life, that eventually degenerated into luxury, effeminacy and dissipation. The nation was more interested in poetry than in prose; but the theme of the muses was petty and restricted, for the most part given to love, pleasure and admiration for nature. The culture of literature in the Chinese language never wholly ceased, especially in history and theology, but the poetry of this time was wholly native and natural.

Among the prose writings of this period none is more interesting and artistic than the *Tosa Nikki*, a diary of travel from the pen of the most distinguished poet of the day, Tsurayuki, governor of the province of Tosa. The diary gives a leisurely but none the less vivid account of his journey from Tosa to the capital at Kyoto, written in the purest of native speech. The poet was one of the editors of the *Kokinshu* anthology already mentioned; and the account which he gives of his tastes and experiences in the *Tosa Nikki* is a charming study of the life of old Japan, written in 935. Among other choice tenth-century

classics may be mentioned the *Taketori Monogatari*, or Tales of a Bamboo Cutter; the *Isé Monogatari*, or Story of Isé; and the *Yamamoto Monogatari*. None of these, however, excel the *Genji Monogatari* from the graceful and idyllic pen of Murasaki Shikibu, a Court lady; and the *Makura-no-soshi*, written by Sei Shonagon, another lady of the Imperial Court. Why no lady of Japan has ever since attained to such a high degree of literary excellence would prove an interesting question. These works mark the close of Japan's greatest literary epoch.

From the twelfth century the country became a battlefield for over two centuries, to the discomfiture of literature, which, like religion, was banished to temples and monasteries. The Imperial Court now ceased to be a political factor in the life of the nation; and, with this decline of prestige, literature further suffered. During the succeeding five centuries, which we can but briefly notice, most of the works written were on politics and history, like the *Heike Monogatari*, the story of Japan's Wars of the Roses. The *Hojoki* by Chomei and the *Tzure-zure Gusa* by Kenko are excellent examples of a forcible and vivacious prose style, opening the way for the literary art that came to higher development in the seventeenth century, and has ever since remained the language of literature in Japan. Here for the first time we find Chinese words blended into Japanese forms and phrases without doing violence to native modes of expression. Nor was the voice of poetry quite extinct, for in the last half of the thirteenth century another anthology was compiled, known as the *Hyaku-nin-isshu*, or Single Poems of a Hundred Men, which is still one of the most popular volumes of Japanese poetry.

The only form of literary art that naturally much appealed to the ages of anarchy was drama; and so, in this period, dramatic impulse found vent in the old religious dances, and drama now assumed a secular form and motive, especially in the lyrical drama known as the *No*. These

strange plays are mostly dateless, but they probably came from the hand of priests who may have used them as miracle and morality plays were used in Europe, to interest the uninterested in religion. Comedies, called *kyogen*, were also composed as interludes in the more severe and less-interesting sacred drama, and written in the ordinary colloquial of the day.

After the age of strife had passed and the Tokugawa shogunate became established, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there came a revival of the study of ancient records and the writings of the classic age. Led by the example of Ieyasu, the first shogun of the new line, the various feudal lords set up schools for the revival of learning. Mitsukuni, lord of Mito, had a history of Japan compiled, called the *Nihonshi*; and later came another important volume entitled the *Nihongwaishi*, or history of the shogunate. Both these works had an important influence in preparing the way for the restoration of Imperial government. The elaborate critical commentaries of such writers as Keichyu (1640–1741), Mabuchi (1700–1769), Motoöri (1730–1800), elucidated the ancient annals of the nation as well as its religion and literature. Novelists like Bakin (1767–1840) and Ikkyu (1763–1831) wrote popular stories displaying new literary skill. Nor must we fail to mention the Shakespeare of Japan, Chikamatsu (1652–1724), whose plays left a permanent impression on national drama. Most of the fiction of the period was full of offensive elements, but the *otogi-banashi*, or fairy-tales, many of which have been translated into English, were charmingly innocent and humorous.

1. Modern Literature

With the fall of the shogunate and the restoration of Imperial rule in 1868 Japanese literature underwent a change, and during the last fifty years quite a new school

of writers has arisen. The change in literature that came about with the modern period was in itself largely due to the extraneous ideas introduced in the modernization of Japan, and in turn had a powerful influence in helping to bring about the new Japan. Japan's leading writers were the pioneers of liberty, individual rights and constitutional government. It is remarkable, too, that the peculiar history of their language had prepared it for expressing in the best way the foreign ideas after a native manner. Used for over a thousand years almost exclusively as a medium for expressing Chinese ideas, the Japanese language nevertheless turned quite naturally to expressing the thought of Europe with which it had but little natural affinity. It is astonishing how well this task has been accomplished. Much of the success, however, must be attributed to the marvellous capacity of the Chinese ideographs in lending themselves to any combination necessary to express all kinds of ideas native or alien. It is almost inconceivable that Western thought could have made such rapid progress in Japan had it not been for this long period of training in expressing native thought through a foreign medium offering facility for every turn of expression and definition.

The history of modern Japanese literature, which is much too long and full for transcription here, indicates clearly the various stages through which the thought of the nation has passed in the modernization of the country. For more than half a century now three distinct influences, marked by as many periods, have been at work on the mind of Japan, and conspicuously represented in the national literature. There was first a strong occidentalizing tendency, seen in the first fifteen years following 1870. This had a sequel of some ten years of reaction, when the tide set strongly towards ultra-nationalism, owing to the sudden and radical changes taking place. The attitude uppermost was that Japan had nothing to learn from the

Occident in morals, religion, refinement and modes of life generally—the only tolerable change was to be in a material sense. The third period began with the fear that Japan was about to revert to feudalism, an eventuality that all knew would prove fatal; and so there was an attempt to introduce the individualism, if not the paganism, of Nietzsche, led by men like Dr. Takayama.

One of the most effective influences in keeping the balance at this time was the study of the English language, which had become universal in higher education. Moreover, most of the standard English writers were either read or translated into Japanese. At first Mill, Macaulay, Herbert Spencer, Scott, Dickens and Carlyle were most in demand, but the taste soon became more general, as it is to-day. Owing to the Prussianization of the army and the medical schools, the German language came into use also, and German scientists and philosophers were widely read and translated, as well as the works of Russian writers like Tolstoi. The effect of English studies was seen on the Japanese language itself, for many native authors now began to imitate British models. Mozumé issued a history of Japanese civilization after the manner of Greene's *History of the English People*. The publication of hundreds of dictionaries, grammars and phrase-books gave evidence of the universal attention devoted to foreign languages. Attempts were made to supplant the complicated Chinese ideographs with Roman letters, but Japanese minds proved unequal to carrying on complicated trains of thought apart from the old idea-expressing media.

In Japan spoken language does not wield half the power that the written language does. To the oriental mind there is a sacredness about books that an occidental may fail to appreciate. Books are Japan's best teachers. A distinguished Japanese author has said that his countrymen are earless and tongueless, being all eyes. In spite of this, however, the approach of the spoken to the written language

is growing closer, as it is in England, chiefly through the influence of the public press, the main moulder of Japanese taste and opinion. While a few of the newspapers keep to the literary language, they have a habit of inserting colloquial phrases, and most of the newspapers use the vernacular almost wholly. It may be noted here with interest that formal public speech was never heard in Japan until modern times. The first to try it was the late Mr. Fukuzawa, founder of the Keio University, but while delivering the oration he sat on the floor in native fashion. Great changes have taken place since then, and talk is plentiful enough in modern Japan. In the press and periodical literature of Japan some of the greatest minds of the nation first made their mark.

Japan has not yet produced any great philosophic thinkers and writers, nor any scientific writers of outstanding merit, though there are many great scientists. The Japanese mind dislikes metaphysical speculation, and fails to regard exactitude with real reverence. The best writing thus far is in the sphere of commerce, finance and fiction. Japan has no veteran novelists, such as are to be found in England, France and the United States. Public taste is so fickle that the lion of the day is soon forgotten, and the career of the greatest is but short-lived. The novelist has no incentive to essay anything worth while. He usually tries to meet the taste of the moment, and make what hit he can in the time available. This may be due to the fact that the majority of those who read fiction are poor students and leisure-loving housewives, and the intellectual classes do not yet show much appreciation of the novel. Formerly it was the same in regard to drama and the theatre, but histrionic art is beginning to command more attention as a recreation from the boredom of business.

With so restricted a constituency the Japanese novelist is obliged to move in a narrow circle of love, and the hackneyed tales of *ronin* and *vendetta*. Few writers can

live from the small proceeds of their craft, and have to make up the deficiency by hack work for the press and the periodicals. The most successful of recent novelists have been Soseki Natsumé, now deceased, the George Meredith of Japan, in his psychological interests; Roka Tokutomi, a disciple of Tolstoi: his *Namiko* has been translated into English. Katai Toyama has carried naturalism to the extreme, and some of his works have been officially suppressed. Koda Rohan is an idealist whose writings are charged with Buddhist, æsthetic and philosophic sentiment in a sober and grave style; while the work of Ogai Mori has done much not only to introduce German and Scandinavian influence but to set an admirable literary style. Dr. Tsubouchi is not only a novelist but a playwright of some note. These men have won fame amidst a host of lesser lights who died poor and mostly unremembered. Yet the greater writers have stuck to their pens with a true literary spirit and persisted in their art with a genuine æsthetic zeal. Indeed, the art of fiction has done more to mark the break between the old and the new Japan than any other factor in the change. Tsubouchi's *Principles of Fiction*, published in 1885 denounced the dull and conventional methods of the past, and insisted on the novel being an interpretation of life: the novelist was advised to depict, not what should be, but what is. The essential element in fiction is declared to be passion, to which custom and circumstance must be subject. This was in direct opposition to the old masters, like Bakin, in whose works passion was always subject to reason and conscience to a degree never seen in real life. The motive of the old fiction was didactic and moral: the motive of the new was truth.

Taking modern Japanese fiction as a whole, it resolves itself into three schools, all revealing the effect of corresponding influences in European literature: the classicists, the realists and the naturalists. In the classic school Ogai

was the leader; all his work is carefully wrought and highly polished, revealing the ease and charm that come of forgotten toil. The realistic school of fiction became intense after the war with China through the awakening of a new national consciousness and a deeper sensitiveness to the tragic aspects of life. Many of these writers took Tolstoi, Zola, Maupassant or Ibsen for their models. Names like Oguri Tayo, Kosugi Tagai, Yanagawa Shunyo and Ozaki Koyo may be mentioned in this connexion. These writers were by no means all alike, but they combined to bring literature into closer relation to life, though as yet no separation was made between the individual and society. Realists like Koda Rohan had a fine streak of idealism. The naturalists were represented by novelists like Kunikida Doppo, who died in 1908, and by Toson, Masamune, Shimamura, Shimazaki, Iwano and Tokuda, who produced stories in a bold and fascinating style, with unconventional treatment, which charmed the young and unsophisticated, while causing the sober to frown. Most of these writers, like their masters in France and Russia, were born in the provinces, gave up unfinished the dull routine of school life and took to Bohemian ways as aspirants to fame, connecting themselves with one journal or another. Writers like Mushakoji, Arishima, Shiga, Nagayo, Mrs. Nogami and Miss Nakajo branched off into a sort of humanitarianism, while Tanisaki and others tended towards romanticism and art for art's sake.

Besides those mentioned above there are numerous writers representing the political novel, the historical, domestic, chivalrous, social or psychological novel, or novel of the gay quarters and the lower social *strata* generally. In fact, every side of national and social life is set forth in the popular fiction of the day, a good deal of which is a mere reflection of European literature of the same type. But its most significant feature is its break with the past and its intense interest in the present, with

a consequent greater breadth of range and a deeper seriousness in art.

It must not be imagined, however, that the change has been brought about without sacrifice. Some of the realism is too base and the naturalism too gross to be quite wholesome. The artificial marvels of the old fiction have not been replaced by the normal and the ordinary: too often the fabulous has been merely supplanted by the hideous and the gruesome, while sensuality has taken the place of mystery. The recognition of natural passion in Japanese fiction has not solved the problem of its reinstatement. The cosmic force of love is recognized, but the legitimate form of its self-expression is not yet found to be an inspiration to service and a source of joy in harmony with the spirit of the universe.

Japanese prose literature as a whole cannot be said to abound in any content of living interest to occidental readers. It springs from customs, events, personages, places and traditions so utterly different, and from motives of action, praise and censure so widely at variance from those dominating Western civilization, that on reading it the occidental mind finds little in common and a consequent marked absence of appeal. It thus seems to us strange and alien, dwelling painstakingly on minute details that the occidental mind would pass over as too trivial, indulging in the most prolix verbosity, dealing freely with matters forbidden by the more delicate taste of our civilization. It nevertheless records the social, religious and political evolution of the Japanese people; and for this reason it may be studied with profit, though the student will look in vain for great intellectual creativeness or invention.

2. Poetry and Drama

Japanese poetry remains the most original and interesting of the nation's literary efforts. Much Chinese poetry has

been written by the Japanese, in the same way that much Latin verse has been composed by English scholars, but Chinese poetry has never affected Japanese verse in the same way that the ancient classics have affected English poetry. In this way Japanese verse escaped the limitations of thought and expression that Chinese has imposed on Japanese prose. With but little variation the oldest Japanese song on record is still the model for the versification of her poets; for poetry was invented by the gods, and can no more be improved in form than the human form.

The first characteristic of Japanese verse is its extreme brevity. The whole range of poetic literature includes nothing in the way of epic or even of narrative poetry. When the Japanese speak of poetry they always mean the tiny verse known as the *tanka*, or *waka*, of five lines, containing in all thirty-one syllables, the first and third lines each making five syllables, and the others seven syllables each, as a-b-a-b-b, but no rhyme or accent. In spite of its brevity, it has the divisions of a sonnet, the first three lines forming the *upper*, and the last two the *lower*, a slight break occurring in the sequence, and a slight pause marking it in the reading. In expression it is most compact and limited. The *waka* poem is a mere suggestion, a gem of thought from which a world of meaning is to be inferred. Ability to produce a gram of radium from tons of experience is the test as to whether the author is a poet or a poetaster.

The subject-matter of Japanese poetry is usually some simple and serene emotion in reference to man or nature. It always has a dainty quality and a meditative mood. And it is marked by a lyric character that is often charmingly idyllic, like a vignette on a Greek vase: conventional, impressionistic, like the nation's pictorial art. Though the *waka* verse cannot expand, it can contract to the *hokku*, a verse of seventeen syllables, used mainly in epigrams or farewell poems.

Various attempts have been made to modernize Japanese

poetry by making translations from occidental poets in a sort of sonnet sequence, but none of these attempts have been considered successful.

The Bureau of Poetry maintained by the Imperial Court in Tokyo holds a poetry symposium annually at the beginning of the year, when the Emperor honours those who have been successful in having their poems chosen as good examples of the art, by hearing the poems read. The subject of the poems for each year is announced by the Emperor some months before the New Year. The late Emperor Meiji was himself one of the greatest Japanese poets of modern times.

The works of all the more famous poets of Japan are included in the three anthologies mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter. The editor of the anthology known as the *Kokinshu*, Tsurayuki, was perhaps the most distinguished poet of old Japan, and one of the gems from his pen reads as follows :

Sakura chiru
  Sono shita kaze wa
Samukara de
  Sora ni shirarenu
  Yuki zo furikeru !

The white flakes fall :
  Yet 'neath the trees
  Unchilled the breeze ;
For over all
  A snow that never knew the sky—
  Fair cherry petals—fall and die.

The following is a good example of the poetry of the late Emperor Meiji :

Fuyu fukaki
  Heya no fusuma wo
Kasanete mo
  Omou wa shizu ga
  Yosameru nari keri !

On winter nights when chill winds blow,
  And double care keeps out the cold,
I think of those exposed to snow :
  The nameless, homeless poor and old.

Scarcely less distinguished as a poet was the late Empress Shoken, who honoured a girls' school by sending the following poem to be read at the closing exercises :

Midaru beki
Ori wo ba okite
Hana-zakura
Mazu emu hodo wo
Naraiteshi gama !

Flowers have their smiling time,
And then their time of wilding ;
Girls should have their smiling time,
But never a time for wilding !

It will thus be seen that Japanese poetry cannot be regarded as echoing or recording any profound spiritual experience. But no poetry lends itself less easily to translation, and it can only be judged by those able to read and appreciate it in the original. Without being ranked among the great achievements of the human intellect, Japanese poetry represents an art and an ideal that are truly pleasing, and has left its mark on the nation's life.

Japanese drama is much too extensive a subject for treatment here. Reference is made to it in the same way as to other aspects of modern Japan, to show what bearing it has on the life of the new civilization. Japanese drama originated, as drama did in other countries, in the performance of the ancient folk-dances and folk-songs known as the *kabuki*, which go back beyond the dawn of history, probably having a religious origin, as in Greece. At what period the *kabuki* separated from the *kagura*, or sacred dance, is not known. The first Japanese theatre is said to have appeared in the land of Izumo where many immigrants from north China first settled. The earliest public performances of a theatrical nature appear to have been puppet shows. And when the puppets evolved into living marionettes they still held to their stereotyped and stilted method of action, as may be seen in Japanese theatres to-day.

The Japanese theatre is usually a plain wooden building, with pit and galleries, in which the audience is seated not on chairs but on mats. There is generally a revolving stage, and the accessories in the way of scenery are not far removed from the simplicity that marked the unimaginative stage of Elizabethan England. The *No*, or classical drama of Japan, is in many ways like the old miracle and morality plays of medieval England, but the English plays were much more infused with human passion and natural action. What the Japanese lyrical drama lacks in dramatic action is compensated for by grave and graceful motion and sober, pleasing drapery.

Theatre-going in old Japan was a long-drawn-out affair, the play lasting from two o'clock in the afternoon till ten at night, but such hours are going out of fashion, with the rise of theatres and plays after the European fashion. Until recent years the upper classes regarded the *kabuki*, or ordinary theatre, as not a respectable place to go, but after certain European princes visited it during their sojourn in Japan, the attitude changed, and now all classes attend the theatre. The nobles and their families are still devoted to the old classical drama, however, and often give private exhibitions of the *No* at their mansions.

As to the plays of the modern Japanese theatre they are legion, and represent every side of life in ancient and modern times. As has been suggested, the most aristocratic drama is the *No*, a kind of operetta consisting of singing and dancing, no doubt a descendant of the ancient *kagura* or temple dance. There are hundreds of these lyrical plays in existence, most of them written by priestly authors before the sixteenth century. With practically no scenery, a chorus sits on the floor to one side, with a simple orchestra at the back, under a painting of a large pine tree. But the robes worn in the *No* are elaborate triumphs of artistic skill, and some of them come down through centuries in great families. To relieve the tedium there is

sometimes an interlude introduced, known as the *kyogen*, a kind of farce. The common people, who have little appreciation of these plays, prefer the *ayatsuri* (marionette plays) or the *kabuki*, the popular drama, of which there are endless varieties both ancient and modern.

Two types of plays predominate, however : the *jidai* or historical dramas, and the *sewamono* or comedies of contemporary life. There is hardly any important incident of national history that has not been dramatized, and in the most realistic manner, like the *Chushin-gura*, or League of the Forty-seven Ronin ; the *Soga Kyodai* or Soga Brothers, a vendetta. The *Sendai Hagi* is based on an attempt to poison a child of the lord of Sendai ; and the *Kokusenya* on the expulsion of the Dutch from Formosa by Koxinga in the seventeenth century. Among modern playwrights the most noted is Dr. Tsubouchi, a professor of literature at Waseda University. His *Maki-no-kata* is a historical drama based on the efforts of the Hojo family to obtain the shogunate, and regarded as one of cleverest presentations of female intrigue.

Shakespeare's plays, such as Othello and Hamlet, have been translated and acted on the Japanese stage, but with indifferent success. Japanese forms of Ibsen's and Sundermann's plays have been tried with more interest, but the police keep a close censorship on the theatre and ' dangerous thoughts ' are promptly suppressed. The Japanese mind in the mass is still devoted to worship of the past, and leans to conservatism in reaction against the rapid tendency of some to abandon oriental for occidental ideas if not ideals. But between the pull of the dead past and the pull of the living present there is an odds which no devotion to the past can ultimately overcome. Japan is destined to break away from antiquated notions of drama as surely as she is abandoning her old modes of commerce and industry. If, in the process, she can bring with her the imperishable good, to the rest she may say farewell with

a will. When Japan becomes more imbued with world-consciousness of culture, there will come a movement forward in literature and drama that will easily outshine the past.

3. Press and Periodical Literature

As the Japanese are mainly readers of ephemeral literature, and the influence of the press is potent and universal, some space, however brief, must be found for this subject. Japan is as well supplied with newspapers and periodicals of all kinds as any country in the Occident. In the capital more than 50 daily papers are published, while the number printed daily throughout the empire is over 900, with some 2,000 weekly and monthly publications, making a total of well over 3,000. There is scarcely a town of any size anywhere in the empire without its local journal; and the larger centres of population usually have a number of newspapers in proportion to the commercial and industrial interests of the place. The number of daily and weekly sheets dealing with finance, commerce, naval and military matters, science, literature or religion is large, to say nothing of the usual monthly magazines and reviews covering a great variety of themes. There are also illustrated comic papers; and papers for women and children, some of which attain a high standard of merit, but many of them, like some of the dailies, are filled with shameless scandal and gossip.

But on the whole it may be said that the Japanese press has kept pace with the general progress of the country. Up to the time of the war with China the vernacular press of Japan was anything but prosperous; its readers were confined chiefly to the more intellectual classes. But with the rapid spread of elementary education, and the growing activity of social, industrial and commercial enterprise, and increased interest in public affairs generally, even the

poorest Japanese is to-day a regular reader of the daily press. Thus the rapid expansion of newspaper interest has taken place within the present generation; and the dailies are constantly improving, certainly in the enterprise they display in news-gathering if not in the character and accuracy of their contents. Journals that twenty-five years ago were profitless ventures are now enjoying a large and lucrative circulation, and exercising a corresponding influence. It is probable that the daily paper in Japan has wider and more effective influence than in any other country, for in no other country is it depended upon to the same degree as the source of knowledge and opinion by the vast majority of the population.

The Japanese possess a natural instinct for journalism, both in their inherent love of gossip of every description, and in their picturesque way of putting things; while the service of the journal is usually pushed to the utmost by all connected with its issue. In politics and international affairs the influence of the vernacular press is singularly powerful, as officialdom well understands; and the profession of journalism is not infrequently the preliminary to a political career. It attracts many brilliant intellects, including university graduates and leading statesmen, though the pecuniary rewards are meagre, even from a native point of view, while the social status of the journalist is hardly on a par with that of leading newspaper men in Europe. The Japanese press is now beginning to elicit the service of women, whose talents are marked even in dealing with politics as well as social affairs.

The leading Tokyo dailies are the *Jiji*, the *Asahi*, the *Nichinichi*, the *Kokumin*, the *Hochi*, the *Yorozu*, the *Yomiuri* and the *Yamato*. At Osaka the chief dailies are the *Asahi*, the *Mainichi*, *Jiji* and *Nichinichi*. These papers are equipped with the latest modern machinery, sell at higher prices than the others, and have regular correspondents in the foreign capitals of the world. Most

of the dailies serve some political party, except the *Jiji*, which claims to be independent. The make-up of the Japanese daily is somewhat like that of English newspapers, in which respect the Tokyo *Nichinichi* may be taken as an example. It devotes its first page to advertisements; the second to foreign telegrams; page three to leading articles, Court and political news; page four to what may be regarded as the more serious news of the day, with speeches and gleanings of reporters; page five to things notorious, such as crimes, catastrophes and sensations; pages six and seven are given to serial stories, literary articles and dramatic criticisms, while page eight contains columns of financial and stock exchange intelligence. But there is no sporting page, though some space is devoted to reports of chess and games. For the sake of promoting more accurate knowledge of Japan among foreigners some Japanese papers are printed in English, like the *Japan Times and Mail*, a daily; and the *Herald of Asia*, a weekly. Several financial and art papers are also published in English. Then there are journals owned and edited by English and American subjects, such as the *Japan Chronicle*, of Kobé, a British journal; and the *Japan Advertiser*, of Tokyo, an American paper. Each of the great Japanese dailies has strong individual features that distinguish it from its contemporaries, but the majority adopt the questionable if popular device of a page devoted to scandal, which is eagerly scanned by the average reader. Some of this matter would be regarded as libellous in occidental countries, but it seems to pass in Japan, and the more important the victim is the less notice he takes of it.

The vernacular press of Japan is under strict official censorship. Warnings are issued by the censor as to what must not be mentioned, as occasion demands, and violation of the order is punished by fine. Every journal on its establishment must deposit (with the authorities) a sum varying from 2,000 yen downwards, according to place

and frequency of issue, and a fine is deducted from the deposit for every offence. When the deposit is thus exhausted it must be renewed. As this is a tremendous handicap to speculation in scoops of important news, there is a tendency to defiance of the censorship, and consequently most newspapers keep a dummy editor to go to prison for the real editor in case of summons or arrest by the police. Many of the editors are ingenious enough to get in their shafts by means of allegory or even ambiguity, so that the censor has a difficult task, very often, to interpret the offending item. The censor is frequently accused of not informing all newspapers simultaneously when the embargo on news is lifted, and so some dailies are suspected of being thus favoured by the authorities as they are enabled to get the news before the public prior to their less fortunate contemporaries. The average number of summonses for violation of ban on news each year is about 250, and the number of issues forbidden sale or suspended is about 175. The same censorship is exercised over publication of books, the number thus prohibited annually being about 500 out of a total publication of over 20,000 volumes, 37 of these prohibitions being in reference to books imported from abroad. Japan has numerous agencies for the distribution of news, and a national agency, like Reuters in Europe, known as the *Kokusai Tsushin*, which supplies the outside world with news of Japan.

CHAPTER XV

RELIGION

THERE are those who think the Japanese are not a religious people, but since no country has more religions, sects and cults to the square acre, the very reverse would seem to be the truth. And almost every year sees new religions, or more sects of old ones, emerging into prominence and claiming official recognition. In Japan every religious society must gain the official consent of the Government before it can lay claim to legal status and hope to be successful in its propaganda. Religion is free, according to the national constitution, but not to the extent of setting forth doctrines or practices considered inimical to public order or the safety of the State.

Since all religions cannot be equally true, nor equally worthy of confidence, one might be disposed to assume that a people who welcome so many faiths, really believe in none. But the Japanese are instinctively pantheists, and to them every religion has in it more or less of divine truth : all religions are different ways of reaching the same end. The value set upon religion, however, seems not to be for its moral but for its patriotic effect. Thus religion has more to do with public than with private life ; and one may live as one likes so long as one is ready to honour the precepts and traditions of one's ancestors and die for one's country when occasion demands.

Though the more-educated classes of modern Japan are inclined to be cynical if not sceptical with regard to the supernatural, they yet hold that religion supplies a strong motive to order and patriotism, especially among the

ignorant, fanatical and superstitious. This utilitarian theory of religion found an exponent in the late Mr. Fukuzawa, the sage of Mita, who contended that religion was chiefly valuable as a moral force among the more ignorant masses of the population. But just here lies a grave danger to Japanese polity and civilization. The Imperial Constitution is based on belief in the deity of the Emperor and worship of the Imperial ancestors: though this is not directly asserted, it is implied. If the masses come to believe that the ruling classes do not themselves believe in religion except as a 'scarecrow' to keep the common people in subservience, the latter will doubt the sincerity of the alleged faith of their rulers in the Imperial ancestors, and such doubt must create revolution. Certainly the vast mass of the Japanese people believe in religion; and should the ruling class ever be open to the accusation of not believing in religion, the end of the present polity would be imminent.

1. Historical Outlines

What the religion of the Yamato race was when it first settled in the islands of Nippon can only be surmised from archæological remains, and from what is found in practice at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. when the dawn of authentic history commences. It is quite clear that the race had a definite religion then; and it was characterized by three main elements: nature worship, which may have been imbibed from the native inhabitants; ancestor worship, involving deification of progenitors, a cult the conquering race doubtless had brought with them from the continent; and Confucianism, which had early found its way to Japan with the original immigrants. With the advent of Buddhism about A.D. 535 the three elements combined to oppose the alien faith, and Buddhist propaganda was at first marred by civil strife.

Buddhist pessimism was inconsistent with Japanese faith in Shinto which taught that the ancestors of the nation were gods, and every Japanese destined to similar godhood. The literary monuments of the struggle for preservation of the national ideals against Buddhism are to be found in the oldest records of the nation, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, the Hebrew Bible of Shinto. But Buddhism waged an incessant battle ; and by a system of compromise, admitting the Shinto deities to the Buddhist pantheon, and by the help of Korean and Chinese influence the new religion finally conquered. In its long journey across the plains of Asia the Indian religion had learned to believe that Buddhas and Bodhissatvas could be incarnated many times for the benefit of suffering humanity ; and so it was prepared to admit that the deities of Shinto might be Buddhist incarnations. Thus the two religions became practically identical in Japan. After the new faith was accepted by the Imperial Family, the entire State came under the domination of priests and monks. At first Buddhist aversion to the taking of life and the waging of war had a beneficial effect on Japanese barbarism, but the warrior spirit of Japan could not be thus easily subdued ; and so among the monks arose an order known as the *bushi*, or knights, which the warriors adopted, and were known as samurai, proud descendants of the ancient warriors who had conquered Nippon. They held a position not unlike that usurped by the Anglo-Norman knights of medieval England. But the blending of religion and the military spirit was greatly prejudicial to truth and faith. Having failed to subdue the military spirit, Buddhism now undertook to discipline and control it. With the rise of the Zen sect in the thirteenth century we find the religion making little of forms and ceremonies and doctrines and very much of strict intellectual and moral discipline. But Buddhism has no more been able to control the spirit of the *bushi* than Christianity has been able to ennoble *kultur*. When

Christianity arrived in Japan with the Jesuits and friars of the sixteenth century it was mercilessly opposed by Buddhism ; and after a hundred years of fairly successful propaganda, the Church was exterminated and over 200,000 of its members martyred.

2. Shinto

Shinto, ' the way of the gods,' is the original faith of the Japanese. To maintain consistency in declaring religion free and all religions on a level, the Japanese Government affirms that Shinto is not a religion, and that when Shinto is officially favoured the authorities are not discriminating in the interests of any religion ; but a cult that believes in gods and encourages prayer to them must be included in the category of religions. Shinto is primarily a system of ancestor worship. The spirits of the dead are all *kami*, beings of god-like rank and power, entitled to the reverence and devotion of the living. The cult is supposed to have originated in the fear of ghosts, that characterizes the beliefs of primitive races. Shinto is used as a motive to filial piety and national patriotism. The Shintoist believes that his ancestors are living, that they know all about him and perceive as well as endeavour to guide his every action, and that he should always be governed by their example and counsel. In every Japanese home there is a *kami-dana*, an altar-shelf, with its *ihai*, or tablet, in which are enshrined the spirits of his ancestors, and offerings are made and worship performed before the shrine usually twice a day. All the good and ill of life comes from the ancestors, who require constant humouring and appeasement.

The Shinto pantheon is sufficient to stagger conception. If you ask how many gods it includes, the answer is ' eight hundred myriad,' a vague enumeration equal to a bacteriological calculation. And the Japanese conception of the manifoldness of deity is better represented by bacteriology

than theology. There are three prevailing types of deity, however, that require more than passing notice: the national gods, the communal gods and the family gods already noticed. The national gods comprise the spirits of departed emperors, the central shrine of which is at Isé, with a branch in the Imperial Palace in Tokyo. These are honoured on certain national occasions, and are informed of all important national events. Every official of State appointed by the Emperor has to proceed to Isé and inform the Imperial ancestors of his appointment. Since the victories over China and Russia greater attention has been shown to the ancestral shrines, for the Emperor declared that all was due to the ancestral gods. Shinto speaks of the *Ogami*, or great gods, but whether this implies belief in any one supreme deity above the Imperial ancestors it is impossible to say.

The communal gods are the spirits of great personages, such as princes or warriors or daimyo who have been benefactors of the province or community. Every community, down to the smallest hamlet, has its communical shrine to the *ujigami*, while cities have as many such shrines as there are parishes in an English city. On appointed occasions, especially anniversaries, offerings are made and festivals celebrated before the shrines for consolation and appeasement of the deity, that the community may be blest. Some of these shrines have their foundation in remote antiquity, and the older they claim to be the more they are reverenced with gifts. All gods must be Japanese. When the nation began to acquire colonies, it had to bring over Japanese gods, since there were none in Korea and Formosa. Fortunately a Japanese prince happened to die during a visit to Formosa, and so a guardian deity was provided for the shrine of that possession, relieving the communal deities of Japan proper from responsibility for the outlying parts of the empire. Korea is being provided with gods in a similar manner. The communal gods are

taken out of their shrines on great festivals and carried in procession on elaborate *mikoshi*, or god-cars, to inspect the communities over which they rule, and see that they have paid their temple taxes and are properly decorated for the festival.

As to the family gods sufficient, perhaps, has been said above. As one passes along the street in the early morning affecting acts of worship may be seen through open windows before these simple family shrines, performed usually by the most aged member of the household, a grandmother very often, for women have to do deputy for men in religion in Japan, as in some other countries. If the family be Shinto the ancestral tablet will be plain unvarnished wood, but if Buddhist it will be a painted tablet with the ancestral names elaborately inscribed. Lamps of pure vegetable oil are lighted in the evening on either side of the tablet before the act of worship begins. Clapping the hands and holding them together, the head is bent towards the *ihai* and the ancestral guardians thanked for all their august benefits. The Japanese worship their more immediate ancestors and do not trouble themselves with questions of the missing-link.

In addition to the three species of gods noted, there are innumerable others of various ranks, whose duty is to oversee every act and aspect of life. Existence is bound every way about with gods, from the performance of some elaborate State ceremony to that of the simplest toilet, from the selecting of a site for a new house to the marrying of a wife. There are gods of wind and fire and pestilence ; of war, of food, of the cooking pot, of the kitchen and the door and the gate.

In spite of its avowed independence of moral codes, and of dogmatics in general, Shinto has a priesthood and a complicated ritual which requires a special education to understand and perform, with numerous ceremonies of purification from wrong-doing and bodily defilement.

It is a religion, however, which has no heaven and no hell, and no morals except manners and national customs, and loyalty and filial piety. The Shinto summary of ethics is seen in the Imperial Rescript on education quoted in the chapter on that subject. That this code is insufficient to meet the needs of modern civilization is clear from the appalling degree of immorality tolerated in Japan.

The Shinto shrine, in contrast to the gorgeous altars of Buddhism, is very simple, and, like the temple itself, is constructed of plain unvarnished wood, usually pine. There is practically no decoration, and the only object on the altar is a mirror. The aim of the architecture seems to be to preserve the form of the primeval hut in which the ancestors lived. The Shinto priest before the altar wears a black robe over a longer white one, with a girdle around the waist, and a black cap, or *eboshi*, of curious form on his head. At Shinto festivals there are intoning of prayers, recitation of incantations, and performing of dances for the pleasure of the gods. Some of these old dances and operettas go back to the birth of music and poetry. Shinto gods are very human; they enjoy a joke, and do not object to chiding, or even punishment if they overlook what their devotees consider to be their duty. On one occasion a god who failed to send rain for the rice, when it was properly asked of him, was carried down and dumped in a mud hole for punishment. The gods have to play up to local ideas, or suffer the consequences. The Japanese mother takes her new-born babe to the local shrine to invoke the protection of the guardian deity; and there also she was probably married. In death, however, recourse is had to Buddhism which has the credit of being more familiar with the secrets of the unseen and offers more facilities for facing hades. One of the most remarkable aspects of Shinto is its hero-worship. At the great national shrine in Tokyo, known as the *Yasukuni Jinja*, the spirits of all the soldiers and others who

have died for Japan are deified and specially honoured by national worship at two festivals a year, by the Imperial House and all classes of the nation.

By official status Shinto shrines are divided into twelve grades, of which the Grand Shrine at Isé is the head, the next most important in order of mention being the Izumo, the Kashima and the Hitachi shrines, which enshrine the ancestral spirits of historic families like the Fujiwara, the Minamoto and others. The total number of Shinto shrines is over 118,000, with over 15,000 priests. The Emperor himself is the chief priest of Shinto and attends the altar to offer prayer and sacrifice on great occasions. Like other religions, Shinto is broken up into numerous sects, of which thirteen are more important and are accorded special recognition. The ' highs ' lay stress on the importance of correctness in ritual ; the ' broads ' on worshipping ' the whole divine race,' and the ' lows ' on the importance of meditation and ascetic rigour. As sectarianism is due to the merely human aspect of religion, and not inherent in real religion, the Shinto sects naturally represent all the various anthropomorphic conceptions and tastes that are found emphasized in the sects of occidental religion. At any rate, if Japan fails to meet the requirements of a modern State it will not be for want of gods to look after her interests, nor for want of devotees to see that the gods rise to their divine duties.

3. Confucianism

Though Confucianism cannot be said to exist as a separate cult or religion in Japan, it is nevertheless the only rule of life for a considerable number of individuals, especially among the upper classes. But, like Stoicism, Platonism and other forms of ancient paganism in Europe, it is so blended with the national religion that only a Confucianist would be able to place it. Since Confucianism, which

came from China, recognizes no god, and is concerned only with this life, it becomes particularly adapted to that increasing number of Japanese who, through the influence of modern science, have broken away from the myths and superstitions of national tradition and now observe the ancient ceremonies only out of respect for the past and loyalty to the present. Being more of a philosophy than a religion, Confucianism in Japan has no more to say about gods than it has in China. It simply avers that the chief end of man is to follow nature, by which is meant the customs of the ancestors whom he worships. Confucianism appeals to many Japanese as offering the least obligation that religion can demand and retain its name. In its insistence on the loyalty and obedience of subjects to ruler, of children to parents, of wife to husband, of servants to master, Confucianism well suits the Japanese mind which is inclined to hold that superiors have rights but no duties : while inferiors have duties but no rights. For the masses, however, Confucianism has little or no appeal, as it lacks the inspiration which faith in deity compels, and sincere worship strengthens. A religion that offers man nothing higher or better than himself as an object of veneration can never command the confidence of a progressive mind. It suits mostly those of independent means. And thus while Confucianism in Japan, as in China, lies cold in the brain of its teachers, and suffering humanity finds no place in its heart, the people naturally turn to the tender and merciful deities of Buddhism, leaving the Chinese cult to the petty regulation of family affairs.

When Viscount Shibusawa visited the United States he was asked by John Wanamaker what was his religion. The answer was, 'I am a Confucianist.' When Wanamaker asked him how he could believe in a religion which China had followed for 3,000 years without showing any progress, the Viscount replied that he could not answer. Nor is there any reason why Confucianism is promoted in Japan

save for the natural service it renders to class distinctions and the subjection of the masses. In the days of the Tokugawa shogunate the subservience of the lower to the higher became a religion, and Confucianism received an impetus it had not before enjoyed outside of China. A school of the cult was established but failed to accomplish much. The practices of Confucianism could only be enforced by law. Such scholars as Hirata and Motoöri began to expound the ancient doctrines of Shinto, showing that Japan was the country of the gods, the ancestors whom the Yamato race worshipped long before Buddhism and Confucianism were ever heard of in Nippon. As the ancient gods had created Japan and given it to their descendants, it was the duty of all loyal Japanese to avoid godless religions and worship the national deities and the Emperor who represented them on earth. Patriotism, loyalty and religion came thus to be looked upon as one and the same thing to the new teachers of the old faith. The new movement received fresh impetus with the overthrow of feudalism, and with the Imperial Restoration it had promoted; and for the last fifty years Shinto has continued to gain on the other religions in Japan.

4. Buddhism

It would require a volume in itself to treat of Japanese Buddhism in any adequate manner, but it concerns us here only as a vital factor in the development of modern Japan, and may be noticed briefly from that point of view. Buddhism in Japan is not at all what it is in India, or any of the other countries of its adoption. The difference may be indicated as concisely as possible thus: Indian Buddhism offers salvation through self-perfection; grace comes from knowledge and self-enlightenment. Japanese Buddhism is that of the Greater Vehicle, the Mahayana type, which leans toward the Christian doctrine of faith

in a saviour as the way of life, due perhaps largely to Christian influence. Japanese Buddhism has nevertheless not been able to divest itself of inherent pessimism, nor to escape from pantheism in spite of its atheistical inception. Amida is the creator and father of man, and salvation comes through Buddha, the incarnation of Amida. But this tendency to theism has been completely absorbed in Shinto pantheism, and the divine Being is regarded as identical with the universe, i.e. the Mind of the universe represented by the five elements that go to the composition of matter. In philosophic treatises, in hymns and in general liturgies this teaching is certainly implied.

Those familiar with the details of early Christian history will detect in Japanese Buddhism the same sort of pantheism which Irenaeus describes in the God of Basilides. Between Mahayana Buddhism and ancient Gnosticism there is indeed a striking resemblance, showing that the long-exploded and forgotten theories and heresies of ancient Egypt and Syria still survive in Japan. There are a few of us who believe that some of the ancestors of Japan came from Egypt ; and assuredly traces of similarity may be found between Japanese Buddhism and the religion of ancient Egypt, both having the same central deity with his retinue of subsidiary deities and a host of minor beings, the whole making the sum total of the Divine. There are, moreover, the same incantations, charms and gesticulations and genuflections. It is probable that from Egypt through India and China this religion came, and that the Daibutsu at Nara is identical with Osiris.

But in its appeal to the masses Buddhism lays stress on none of these things : only on the mercy and all-abounding love of Amida. This idea was first put forth by Zendo of the seventh century in China, and early found its way to Japan, stirring powerfully the hearts of such teachers as Genshin, Honen, Shinran and others, but it was opposed by the great reformer Nichiren, who rejected it and its

Amida as strange doctrines in Buddhism, and proclaimed Shakyamuni as supreme, thus seeking to call the faithful back to the tenets of the original Gautama. In this way sect after sect arose in Japanese Buddhism, each warring with the others, new sects often becoming political intriguers with warrior train-bands, while pious souls in secluded temples kept alive the lamp of religion.

We have already seen that when Christianity came to Japan in the sixteenth century Buddhism waged relentless war against it, and while teaching that it was a sin to eat animal food, saw no iniquity in delivering up innocent men, women and children to torture and death of the most cruel and revolting kind. From this reversion to barbarism Japanese Buddhism has never recovered, the effect being not unlike that of the Inquisition in Spain, an arrested moral and spiritual development. With the downfall of the shogunate in Japan, Buddhism was disestablished and left to its own resources. Since then the religion has greatly bestirred itself in rivalry with Christianity, and constrained by the whip of adversity. It now has Sunday schools, theological colleges, private schools, mission services, and preaches sermons that sound almost Christian. Some of the numerous sects are popular, for one reason or another, like the Zen sect which is patronized by soldiers, as it appeals to the rigour and discipline and the fighting qualities required by this class.

Though Buddhism has a certain hold on the masses of the people after so long a history, it cannot be said to be making marked progress in Japan. One sees too many temples neglected and falling into decay to believe that the faith is universally very much alive. The popular temples in great centres of population are well supported; but even in them the main concern is with the deities that bring good luck or recovery from illness or disease. Buddhism takes comparatively little interest in extending its tenets abroad, even to the Japanese colonies. Temples have been

erected in England and America, but no one could claim that Buddhist propaganda in these countries has had any appreciable effect. According to the vernacular press of Japan the Buddhist priesthood is generally illiterate and lax, and can never again command the confidence of the nation. A discussion of the many sects into which Japanese Buddhism is divided would involve more space than is at our disposal. The total number of temples is about 72,000, with over 51,000 priests. As to the adherents of Shinto and Buddhism, it may be said that all who are not Christians or atheists belong to either Shinto or Buddhism or both, most of the people to both.

5. Christianity

There is an increasing conviction among thinking minds in Japan that the religious future of the country lies with Christianity. But the teaching of Jesus has had a long battle to fight, as it had in the old Roman Empire, and has not yet quite come to its own. The opposition which Buddhism met with as an alien religion on its advent to Japan was nothing to what the Church, as represented by the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had to face when it was discovered that the new faith was less ready to compromise for its existence. The missionaries of the Nazarene were firm in their teaching and unyielding in their moral restrictions, two features that did not fall in well with the instincts of a people who had been taught that the way of nature was the way of the gods.

At first Christianity was welcomed with open arms because it was the religion of those who brought war weapons and munitions and promoted foreign trade ; and no more strange and violent contrast can be found than that between the cordiality of its inception and the hatred of it at the time of its rejection and extermination a hundred

years later. For the first time the Japanese were brought into contact with a religion that insisted on some relation with life and morality. Such a religion was most inconvenient to the sensual and harem-loving authorities that controlled the policy of the country. In spite of the fact that converts were drawn from all classes of the people, noblemen, Buddhist priests, men of learning and probity, who embraced the new faith with the same conscientious zeal as the poor and the lowly, it was ultimately found convenient to connect the new faith with the merciless exploitation policy of Spain and the Inquisition, and to insist on its expulsion. The story of the persecution of the missions in the seventeenth century is one of the most thrilling in the annals of martyrdom, but for that the reader must go to the history of Japan at that time.

After the centuries of seclusion had passed away, and the bloody persecutions had been forgotten, Japan was reopened to foreign intercourse, and the missionaries returned. Descendants of the first Christians were found still adhering to the faith, nearly 3,000 in all, in the villages near Nagasaki. The missions carrying on Christian propaganda in the new Japan were, and have been, for the most part representing the protestant communions of England and the United States. The work of the Roman Catholic Church has been under French priests and convents ; and missions under the Russian Orthodox Church have been very successful. Of the 400,000 or more Christians in Japan, after scarcely 60 years of propaganda, about 300,000 have been baptized in the last 25 years, which indicates a promising ratio of increase. Of these about 75,000 belong to the Roman Church, and some 36,000 to the Russian Church, and the rest are divided among the various communions of England and America, including the Church of England. The Anglican Churches of England, the United States and Canada are united in one communion in Japan,

known as the *Nippon Sei Kokwai*, or Holy Catholic Church of Japan, with its own bishops, priests and deacons, its own prayer book in Japanese, and its own canons and constitution, with ten dioceses ; the bishops of Tokyo and Osaka being Japanese.

The religious mind of Japan, as in other lands, represents two distinct types : that favouring elaborate ceremonial in religion, and that preferring a more graceful simplicity. In the national religions this aspect is represented by Buddhism on the one side and Shinto on the other. And the same tendencies are seen in the Christian missions. Sectarianism in Christianity does not puzzle the Japanese much, as they are accustomed to it in Shinto and Buddhism. But intolerance and absence of charity in religion they do not appreciate. Even the Salvation Army finds popular approval because of its devotion to Christ, and to the poor, and its love of military paraphernalia. The Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association are also popular and progressing. But there are many free-lance missionaries in Japan ; and the medley of creeds is sufficiently confusing to cause hesitation and doubt among some.

The ordinary Japanese does not regard Christianity as less credible or more superstitious than his own religions : his main objection, as a rule, is that it is a foreign religion likely to undermine national faith and polity, forgetting that this is a revival of the old argument against Buddhism ; and he also considers the moral ideals of Christianity too elevated for the average man, especially in business and domestic life. But the Japanese, as has been suggested, are a tolerant people ; and one cannot say that the average individual is more opposed to Christianity than the average Englishman would be to Buddhist or Shinto propaganda in England. The Trinity, the Incarnation and the Atonement are often found baffling doctrines to the average Japanese, but the Man Christ Jesus he has no objection

to, except that he is a foreigner and regarded by His disciples as superior to all earthly potentates.

To the Christian Japanese, on the other hand, there is no difficulty in reconciling the claims of Christ with those of the Imperial House ; since the New Testament teaches that 'the powers that be are ordained of God,' and so must be honoured and obeyed as God. The only difference between Shinto and Christianity here is that, while the latter admits that the ruler may represent God, Shinto insists that he *is* God. But the existence of so many distinguished Japanese Christians, whose loyalty no one doubts, goes to prove that the new faith is not inconsistent with loyalty and filial piety, and Christianity will doubtless in time win its way even faster than it is doing to-day. But it will not be in any degree an Anglicized or an Americanized Christianity ; though to avoid taking a Japanese form will be less possible. Since these national accretions of the faith are no vital part of it, the Church need not worry about a possible Japanization of Christianity. A nation that has given already a host of martyrs to the Church may be trusted to guard the faith of the future. The progress of modern science is undermining Japan's faith in national cosmogony and tradition and inclining the masses to democratic and liberal institutions ; and, as Christianity is not only consistent with such progress but its best aid, the mind of Japan will eventually turn more seriously and universally to the new faith. Nor will the Japanese Church suffer so much from the stereotyped customs that retard the progress of religion in countries with an older Christian tradition ; it will be a Church of even more modern type than that represented by the foreign missionaries in Japan, a Christianity unencumbered with the useless accretions of race and history.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FUTURE OF JAPAN

HAVING examined in detail the resources and material development of Japan, and seen how her rapid expansion and progress in almost every direction have placed her among the great Powers of the world, it is now in order to inquire how Japan proposes to use her immense advantage and high position. The policy Japan intends to pursue, no less than her future generally, becomes a question of immediate and increasing interest and importance to occidental nations, especially to those whose future depends on peaceful relations with Asia.

The motives underlying Japan's policy, as well as the nature of that policy itself, can be ascertained only by a long and careful study of the nation's history and civilization at first hand. To this the present writer has given many of the best years of his life. Japan's aim in Eastern Asia must be inferred mainly from the general trend of policy and procedure for the last three or more centuries. In all that time her mind, and consequently her line of action, have but little changed. Our deductions then are based on the past no less than on the present attitude of Japan ; and on facts, not on visions, prejudices or suspicions.

1. Japan's Policy in Asia

It has been the constant aim of Japan since the foundation of the Empire to hold a base on the continent of Asia, and have a voice in continental affairs. In all the centuries Japan has never been able to rid herself of the

conviction that her destiny depends on commanding this advantage. It may have originated with the national obsession that the Creator who gave Japan her divine emperor intended that she should rule Asia, since the gods are the rulers of the world. To old Japan Asia was the world. The early invaders of the archipelago retained a base on the Korean peninsula, drew tribute from subsequent kingdoms that arose there, and by successive raids and invasions held that base until the tenth century A.D. When the Mongols began to utilize Korea as a base for the invasion of Japan in 1274 and again in 1281, the folly of not having succeeded in retaining their base in Korea was at last apparent to the Japanese. Japan annihilated the Mongol Armada, but the necessity of a base on the continent was no more forgotten. When Hideyoshi, the Napoleon of Japan, three centuries later, had completed the subjugation of the recalcitrant daimyo and unified the country under a central government, he found further occupation for his warriors by sending a great expedition into Korea to conquer it in preparation for a still vaster invasion of China. If the Mongols whom Japan had defeated could overwhelm the whole of Asia, as they did under Kublai Khan, why should the Japanese warriors, who had proved themselves superior to the Mongols, not do the same ? Hideyoshi's death in 1597 prevented the plan being fully carried to completion, though Korea suffered a decimation from which the peninsula never recovered.

With the arrival of the Spanish and Portuguese merchants and missionaries in Japan in the sixteenth century the nation's mind turned from conquest of China to the menace of the Occident. Japan soon learned what Spain had been to Holland, to Mexico and South America ; and now she had become Japan's neighbour in the Philippines. The next step would be the invasion of Japan ; and Japan had no inclination to risk sharing the fate of the Aztecs

and the Incas. Jealousy between Jesuits and Franciscans led Japan to the conviction that the missionaries were come to prepare the way for Spanish conquest. Japan thereupon expelled the foreigners, executed those who refused to go and exterminated the Church. From 1638 to 1853 Japan remained closed to the Western world.

But Japan never abandoned the idea of securing a base on the continent; and when her doors were forced open by occidental nations in the nineteenth century she was still contemplating the problem. The question of relations with Korea had some connexion with the Satsuma rebellion of 1877. But then, as in the sixteenth century, the question of relations with Western countries forced all other questions into the shade. Japan always regarded her new relations with the occidental Powers as forced upon her. Helpless in the hands of the intruders, without adequate national defences, Japan felt the humiliation of the situation beyond words. It is no wonder that many Occidentals fell before the sword of the samurai during the first years of new treaties.

The nation's first resolve was to secure national autonomy at all costs and to concentrate all force on the creation of adequate national defences. How to organize and support an efficient army and navy on her slender resources was Japan's gravest problem, but with the economic sympathy of the English-speaking nations it was done. The war with China over the question of Korea in 1895 again revived the importance of having a base on the continent; and Japan's victory in the struggle was about to give her the advantage she coveted, when Germany, France and Russia united in driving Japan out of Manchuria, only to have her place later taken by Russia. Then came the war with Russia in 1904–5, when Japan regained her position in Manchuria and a hold on Korea. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance helped to realize further her ideals toward consolidation of policy in East Asia. The war with Germany

still more strengthened Japan's position; and as she had already annexed Korea in 1910, the ideal of two thousand years was fully realized.

As the fundamental motive of Japan's policy is to prevent concessions to Western nations in East Asia, her main movements since the European War have been toward the enforcement of a Monroe Doctrine for the Far East. Japan, as the voice of East Asia, claims the same right to immunity from occidental aggression as America does in the name of the New World for immunity from European aggression. In this hope Japan has the sympathy of China and India, though these countries are not yet quite satisfied that Japan means what America means by the Monroe Doctrine: there is a suspicion that while America means 'The Americas for the inhabitants of the American continents, Japan may mean Asia for Japan.' The Monroe Doctrine for Asia will not be wholly realized until Britain withdraws from Wei-hai-wei and France from Indo-China, as well as America from the Philippines.

2. A Monroe Doctrine for Asia

Has Japan the capacity to organize and manipulate the policy suggested, and has she the means to enforce a Monroe Doctrine for Eastern Asia? It is obvious from what has been said above that this policy has already gone far toward realization. While England, America and other nations interested in the Far East are satisfied to seek no further concessions in China, though demanding equal opportunity for the commerce and trade of all nations in that country, Japan is gradually gaining the whip-hand in China. To some Western thinkers this looks like Japan's version of the Monroe Doctrine. But Japan claims that she has taken no advantage of China that Western nations would not take were they in Japan's position. She has a right to use her superior knowledge of Chinese customs and language, and her own proximity, to her own advantage. Sometimes

suspicion of Japan goes so far as to credit her with a sort of magical or superhuman power in gaining her ends; this trend of thought is especially prevalent among those who suspect that Japan's interests are contrary to occidental interests.

But Japan has no such superhuman ability or power as would make her the bogey of the so-called 'yellow peril.' Japan's sudden rise to a foremost position in the comity of nations is, of course, remarkable, but it is in no sense miraculous: it is the natural course of a virile, ambitious and intelligent people abruptly brought into contact with the ways and means of realizing their ambitions, and placed on the defensive against occidental competitors of similar ambitions and ability. Seeing how Western nations have acquired so large a portion of the earth's surface, Japan thinks they might still also acquire her if they had the chance; and while she intends to give them no advantage in this direction, she will do all she can to extend her own influence if not her territory.

Japan's civilization, while older than that of any occidental country, is nevertheless inferior, owing to its long isolation from the developing world; but the ordeal of feudalism, through which Europe passed in preparation for present achievement, Japan also endured, until she has quite as fully acquired the fighting edge. When Japan expelled the Europeans from her shores in the seventeenth century because she considered them a menace and their civilization inferior to her own, she showed shrewd judgment; but during the two centuries of Japan's seclusion the energies of Europe ceased to be absorbed in military entertainment and the burning of heretics, the mind turning towards mechanical invention and industrial progress, which was at its height when Japan was obliged to return to intercourse with the outside world, to inherit all its achievements in material advancement. It required no extraordinary intellect to see, as Japan did, the need of acquiring

all the means of national defence and material progress that the West had invented, nor to appropriate them as Japan has done. Indeed, the inheritor has sometimes the advantage over those who have exhausted themselves in producing the inheritance. Europe laboriously wrested the secrets from nature, and Japan has profited by these centuries of intelligence and toil. In scarcely fifty years Japan has mastered what it took Europe 300 years to learn and evolve ; but, had the position been reversed, Europe could as easily have done the same. When the 900,000,000 of Asia have mastered the methods and material of the West even only to the same extent and degree of efficiency as Japan has done, will the West be ready to meet the situation of so changed a world ?

This is not in any way to minimize or depreciate Japan's natural ability, with which indeed she could not have made the progress that has marked the last half-century of her history. Nor does it imply an attempt to impugn her pursuit of a natural policy of independence and self-defence in East Asia. Japan's ability as a race is no less evident in her unrivalled capacity for organization and triumph over poverty of resources than in her imitation of occidental progress. The fact that Japan organized and carried to a triumphant conclusion two of the greatest wars of modern times is proof of her natural ability, to say nothing of the admirable degree in which she has been enabled to foster and ensure a marvellous commercial and industrial development. But this is nothing new to Japan. The nation was able to command and send overseas a force sufficient to defeat China in 1895 and Russia in 1905 only because, 300 years before, Japan sent to Korea the largest fighting force ever sent overseas down to the South African War. Japan never lost her genius for naval and military organization. She now uses the same skill in industrial and commercial organization. The domestic industries of old Japan were so highly specialized and universal before the

advent of Western civilization that all she had to do was to change from hand work to machine work. The process is not yet quite complete, but the transformation is hastening apace. Thus, brought face to face with the accumulated triumphs of two centuries of occidental inventive and scientific genius, Japan had little to do but to appropriate and apply. It is the rapidity and thoroughness with which this has been done that amazes the Occident.

3. The Mailed Fist

But Japan's policy of material expansion and accumulation of wealth has not been merely for the sake of material enrichment : it has not been her aim to make profiteers and millionaires, though these have been only too frequently incidental to the process. Her fundamental policy is always to be concerned with wealth as a means to commanding defences adequate to protect her shores and to promote national expansion and influence. All is concentrated on acquiring for Japan the hegemony of East Asia. Japan spends about one-half of her whole annual national revenue on army and navy alone. To-day she commands one of the finest armies in the world and the world's third largest navy.

In assembling so large and efficient a fighting force, and maintaining it at so great a cost to her poor subjects, Japan has no particular objective apart from the policy indicated. Before the European War Russia was an objective, for every Japanese believed that Russia would have her revenge for the humiliations of 1904–5 ; but now that is postponed. Japan for the present is simply content to insist on no more concessions in East Asia to Western nations, no violation of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine, and no discrimination against her nationals among the nations with whom she has treaty relations.

Of course if Japan is attacked she will fight ; and if she should be forced to draw the sword, undoubtedly she will

give a good account of herself, as she has done in former wars. But Japan does not want war. In no war with any equal or superior Power could Japan hope to hold out longer than two years, owing to the inadequacy of her economic and food resources. Her only hope of victory would lie in swift and effective destructive action. Once successfully blockaded, Japan's food supply would become exhausted, unless the crops yield better than at present. Economically Japan must depend for some time on the sympathy of the English-speaking nations. Though the nation increased its specie holdings some five-fold during the European War, the total is fast becoming depleted in recent years owing to a steady adverse balance of trade. In discussing the question of Japan's economic ability in time of war with a financier of international reputation some time ago, the present writer was given to understand that loss of British and American sympathy in any war would soon cripple Japan financially, to say nothing of the fatal loss of trade. But if the English-speaking nations have thus a financial advantage over Japan, she will all the more expect them to show justice in not tempting her to face the impossible.

4. The Problem of Asia

One of the outstanding problems of Asia lies in the possibility of an alliance between Russia, India, China and Japan against the intrusion of occidental nations. The idea may seem absurd at present, but in view of the increasing tendency of races to self-determination, and the progress of modern education and armament in Asia, rapid changes in position and power may be anticipated. Japan would not probably favour the suggested combination at present, even if the other Asiatic nations trusted her, for risk of conflict with the English-speaking nations is not included in Japan's policy unless driven to it as a last resort against

unscrupulous Western aggression. In pursuing her policy for Asia's independence of occidental dictatorship, Japan's method for the present is moral suasion backed by sufficient armamental force to command respect.

The possible dangers of Japan's policy and pretensions England has met by the threat of a naval base at Singapore : at least so it seems from a Japanese point of view. America's answer is to exclude further immigration from Japan and from Asia generally, while steadily strengthening naval armament. All these movements Japan regards as indications of an unreasonable distrust of her motives, if not a positive suggestion that the races of Asia must await justice if they are to have it. The Washington Conference of 1921 guaranteed the *status quo* on the Pacific for the next ten years. This will effectively preclude Japan making any move in China without due consultation with the other parties to the agreement. But it has not prevented Japanese nationals being discriminated against as undesirable immigrants by the United States, Canada and Australia, to the great humiliation and indignation of Japan.

The immigration question will prove a perennial source of irritation in Asia for some considerable time, if indeed it can ever be adjusted without ultimate clash between East and West. It will always prove an excuse for Japan's coming vitally into contact with occidental nations whenever they ignore her policy or contravene her claims. The progress of Japan's realization of the hegemony of East Asia may inadvertently be overlooked by the Occident so long as the public mind is concentrated on immigration. By keeping up an agitation over the humiliation suffered through the restrictions on entrance of her nationals to English-speaking countries Japan may mesmerize the West into giving her a more elastic hand in East Asia. If England and America had the choice of whether it were preferable to keep the Japanese out of their territories by force, or to keep Japan out of China and Siberia by force, which

would they choose? Or would they insist on both conflicts? This is a problem that seriously concerns Japan.

In the opening chapter it was suggested that before the European War Japan was able to play off Germany and Russia against Anglo-American interests in the Far East, as well as to moderate restrictions on immigration, but now Germany and Russia are scarcely practicable either as pawns or allies of Japan, to say nothing of their lack of sympathy with her policy and aims. At the close of the European War the vernacular press of Japan predicted that England and America would take advantage of the collapse of the Central European Powers to place greater restrictions on the Asiatic races. Now these Japanese publicists are affirming that their prophecy is being fulfilled. But my conviction is that the English-speaking nations are in sympathy with Japan, and desire to see her get fair play in the future, as they have insisted on her having in the past, provided she plays the game, so to speak; while her magnificent army and navy are a most valuable asset on the part of a friend. The British Empire cannot forget that the navy of Japan convoyed all the Anzac contingent of nearly half a million men to the European War, and afterwards did fine service for the allied cause in the Mediterranean. Japan's power and prestige with the Anglo-Saxons on both sides of the Atlantic afford her an opportunity of legitimately trading on their good-will and their strong sense of justice. Hence Japan's dependence and steady insistence on their elimination of racial discrimination, and on equality with European races in the matter of immigration, or else greater freedom for expansion in Asia. Australia has proclaimed the policy of a white continent in the south Pacific, and Japan has replied by seizing the Marshall Islands at Australia's back door, which she still holds under mandate and where she is rapidly promoting colonization. And Japan will continue to hold them until such time as Australia is sufficiently

worked up over the situation to persuade England to give Japan a *quid pro quo* for withdrawal.

5. Surplus Population

In Japan, as in India and China, the question of surplus population is one of the most pressing problems, and with the rapid increase of population under the decreasing death-rate due to science, the problem becomes increasingly serious. It is a question which, as was indicated in the opening chapter, the English-speaking nations can ignore only at their peril. At the present moment immigration is one of the greatest of world problems. To the nations that are suffering from extreme density of population immigration is essential as a relief to congestion: for mankind must have room to breathe and grow if racial and national deterioration and decay are to be averted; and, if faced with the alternative of death either way, nations prefer to die fighting for the right to live rather than acquiesce in slow decline and extinction from congestion of population.

Density of population in England would be much more menacing than it is if there were no dominions and colonies where the surplus could find vent. For many years density of population in Europe, and to some extent in Asia, has found relief by migration to the United States and British territories overseas. But now Canada, Australia and America have closed their doors against Asiatic immigration, and greatly restricted the volume from Europe, so that in time a danger point will be reached if relief be not afforded. If restrictions on immigration to the United States and Canada do not relax, before the point of congestion in Europe is reached, the future of England is fraught with pregnant and sinister possibilities.

In this connexion, however, the largest element of danger for the present lies in relations between East and West; for the West, particularly the New World, is, in a

comparative sense, very sparsely settled, while the East is everywhere approaching congestion. Asia, especially Japan, feels the same profound resentment that England would if, with her present density of population, England had no overseas dominions and all the thinly populated spaces of the earth were closed against her people by races that could not inhabit them themselves. The dog-in-the-manger attitude of the English-speaking settlements is a constant challenge to Asia.

While the oriental millions lay in their age-long slumber the Occident was active in promotion of invention, industry and the acquirement of territory; and now when Asia's millions are awaking to avoid suffocation, they find the vent for immigration has been shut off. The 400,000,000 of China are being aroused from national inertia, and the sullen murmur of their resentment against occidental restrictions on immigration is already heard across the Pacific. Races of greater alertness and ambition, like the Indians and the Japanese, representing 400,000,000 more, now keenly conscious of the rights of man, are not so easily held in leash, and demand, not only autonomy at home, but freedom for their nationals to go abroad. Having studied this question carefully in Canada, America and the Far East, at first hand, I am convinced that our present official and national indifference to it is as unrighteous as it is unwise. And this is particularly true of Britain, for the majority of British subjects are coloured people; and England, I repeat, stands or falls in relation to the coloured races of the world.

6. A Point of Honour

The problems of immigration and racial discrimination inevitably coalesce in the Asiatic mind. Japan is bound to resist the attitude of the English-speaking nations on the immigration question, and all Asia is behind the resistance. As a matter of principle alone Japan is com-

pelled to oppose legislation that obviously discriminates against her nationals in favour of immigrants from other countries. America, Canada and Australia frankly say that while Europeans may be admitted to their respective territories, Asiatics must be excluded. To Asia this is a public announcement on the part of the white races of their belief in the inferiority of the Asiatic races, and conversely an unblushing proclamation of the superiority of the white races and a gross offence to humanity. Japan believes this principle to be false and the attitude it implies absolutely unjust. It is in Japanese opinion an insult to national honour and racial pride, as well as a denial of the most-favoured-nation clause in all Japan's international treaties, and therefore a contravention of treaty rights, to single out Japanese subjects for rejection by countries with which she has treaty relations. Japan admits the right of every nation to regulate immigration within its borders, but not the right to enforce racial discrimination against friendly neighbours. A leading Japanese publicist recently wrote: 'To be treated as a race inferior to immigrants from central Europe is a disgrace more intolerable for the Japanese people than the loss of a colony.'

But if Japan feels obliged to protest as a matter of justice and principle, she feels equally under obligation to protest as a matter of policy: for her population is increasing at the rate of about 750,000 annually, and already, with a population of some 57,000,000, the density is over 360 to the square mile. Moreover, three-quarters of the area is mountainous, and within twenty-five years the present arable area will be insufficient to support the population. Only one acre out of every six is arable. Japan requires about 300,000,000 bushels of rice a year to feed her present population, and of this about 40,000,000 bushels have to be imported. Unless intensity of industrial development can be realized sufficient to support surplus population Japan will be forced to find a vent for emigration.

As the voice of Asia, Japan asks on what basis of justice or right the English-speaking nations can leave so large a proportion of their territories unoccupied and waste while Asia suffers from congestion of population ? The Japanese is a better worker than the European immigrant, as well as a more law-abiding citizen, and yet he is excluded in favour of the European. There is no doubt that Japanese immigration would prove of great material benefit to some of the territories from which it is now excluded. The 350,000 acres controlled by the Japanese in California are the best cultivated and most highly productive in the State, compared with what they were previous to Japanese occupation. As market gardeners and fruit growers none can compete with them. Thus the Japanese think that they are being discriminated against for their virtues rather than their vices. If allowed to go into such a State as Louisiana the Japanese would soon make it a paradise of cultivated prosperity compared with its present undeveloped condition. And the same may be said of North Australia, where the climate does not encourage the white man to settle, but offers ideal inducement to the tropic-loving Japanese. Japan is one-twentieth the size of Australia, and has ten times its population. The Philippines have a population of only 10,000,000 and could almost as easily nourish 80,000,000. The Dutch East Indies, too, are in a comparatively undeveloped condition as against what Japan could make of them. South America is also very sparsely settled compared with Asia. Thus with ample room still on the globe for human expansion, the Japanese do not see how they can be justly excluded from a fair share of it for natural growth.

The number of Japanese that have found settlement abroad does not exceed perhaps 700,000 in all. Of these some 300,000 are in Manchuria, 32,000 in China, 30,000 in the South Pacific, 2,000 in Europe, 15,000 in Russia, 230,000 in North America, of whom about 110,000 are in

California and 15,000 in Canada. South America has over 30,000, mostly in Peru, Brazil and the Argentine. But in all countries, as well as in English-speaking lands, restrictions on Asiatic immigration have been tightening, because of the apparent impossibility of local competition with Asiatic patience, frugality and efficiency in labour. It must be understood that exclusion of Japanese immigrants from English-speaking countries means only the labour class, as students, merchants and tourists are free to enter and leave as they please ; and labourers from whatever country are excluded from Japan itself. Therefore Japan *does* understand that to a very large extent it is an economic rather than a racial question.

7. Territorial Ambitions

In the event of Western nations endeavouring to adjust the immigration difficulty by a *quid pro quo*, what will Japan expect ? Her main hope is for expansion in some direction to consolidate her policy of attaining the hegemony of East Asia and to provide for surplus population. The territorial expansion of Japan would have to be in a direction that would not menace the rights of occidental nations nor conflict with their vital interests. With regard to expansion, there are two parties in Japan, known respectively as the northern party and the southern party, the one thinking that Japan's destiny is northwards, and the other convinced that the nation must go south. There are a few who anticipate that expansion will be in both directions. To those who feel that the line of least resistance is towards the north, a way must be opened up in Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia and Siberia. But the opponents of this policy, led for a long time by Mr. Yosaburo Takegoshi, are powerful, and insist that, as the Japanese are children of the sun, Japan must go to the unoccupied spaces of the south, where they are at home and where white men cannot live.

How far does Japanese history lend colour to these ambitions, and how far are they consistent with the nation's psychology? We have already seen that for centuries the trend of Japanese ambition has been toward the continent of Asia. Japan has already succeeded in establishing herself permanently in Korea, and probably so in Manchuria. But the official and the popular trend have not been always in the same direction. For years Japan has been using every inducement to increase her population in Hokkaido and Saghalien, which are still but sparsely settled, yet colonization of these regions proceeds but slowly, because the Japanese immigrant does not care for a cold climate. Only promise of unprecedented profits sends the Japanese into Korea, Manchuria and Siberia. Already Japan owns Formosa and is fast colonizing it, though this has been retarded by the dangerous nature of the regions occupied by the savages. If Japan could only acquire the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies her dreams of conquest would be realized, and the immigration question would cease to trouble America and the British dominions for centuries, if not for ever. Such an eventuality would not only be in line with Japanese policy and the desire of Japanese immigrants, but it would be in complete accordance with the principles of Japan's defensive strategy; for the naval authorities have long contended that control of the Dutch East Indies, or the waters adjacent, is essential to national defence. Had Japan been in command of these seas during the war with Russia, the enemy's fleet would never have succeeded in reaching Japanese waters. Such are the convictions of Japan's southern party.

But could America be induced to part with the Philippines, and Holland with her East Indian colonies? It is not impossible to the Japanese mind that by international agreement such a transformation could be brought peacefully about in permanent settlement of the immigration difficulty. American discussion of Philippine independence

lends further hope to realization of such a proposal. But Holland would require a very big *quid pro quo*, if any at all would be accepted. The expedient suggested would not, of course, settle the very important question of Chinese and Indian immigration. Then again there are those in the West who hold that Japan is dangerous enough now, without increasing her strength by territorial expansion.

My own study of Japanese history, civilization, psychology and general tendency, leads to the conviction that Japan will expand both north and south, but mainly north. In spite of many opinions to the contrary, the general movement of the nation has been northward; and deduction must be based on facts. It has been shown that for more than two thousand years the policy of the more forceful element in Japanese civilization has insisted on gaining a secure hold on the continent. This Japan has now accomplished. Her recent attempt to occupy Siberia and her seizure of the whole island of Saghalien, which she still holds, is further emphasis of the national trend of empire. This aspect of the situation is further borne out by the fact that the Japanese are slowly becoming a white race: some of the men and many of the women are already white. All the agitation about migration southwards is to impress Britain and America with the necessity of freedom for Japan northwards in return for her acquiescence in their restrictions on immigration.

History shows that British ambitions on the European continent had to be ultimately abandoned. Whether this has been for the good of Britain, or Europe, or both, will be decided according to whether the student thinks it would be better that Europe were like England, or England like Europe, to-day. The future of Japan in relation to the continent of Asia must in great measure depend on the progress that can be induced in China and Russia in the next few years, as well as in some degree on the attitude of the English-speaking nations toward Japan and Asia generally. Certainly

the whole future of the English-speaking peoples depends on their co-operation with the Asiatic races for the mutual amelioration and uplift of their respective countries.

The Japanese have never suffered defeat. Retreat is a device of occidental tactics that they have never practised. The Japanese believe that they can accomplish anything they set their minds upon. Their Emperor is divine, they are the children of the gods, and the gods are on the side of their relatives. The Japanese will not scruple to take any means that may be necessary to defend themselves from national deterioration and dishonour. Their marvellous expansion of commerce and industry, for the purpose of commanding the wealth essential to adequate defences, has been at the expense of a crushing and cruel industrialism in which helpless labour has been exploited in a most inhumane manner. Consequently industrial unrest is an increasing feature of Japanese society. The demand for universal suffrage and for improved conditions of labour can no longer be suppressed. The only way in which the national mind can be diverted from contemplation of its internal grievances and sorrows and the poverty of the people is by keeping up the agitation on immigration and national dishonour inflicted abroad : for it is always easier to blame the enemy abroad than the enemy at home. This is, of course, an old expedient of nations with internal problems, and Japan knows how to exploit it to the full. But Japan's international legerdemain for the purpose of diverting the occidental mind from the steady progress of her consolidation in Asia should not blind the eyes of the West to the reality of the Asiatic problem for which Japan stands, and in which she must long be the voice of Asia, nor should the West continue indifferent to the need of preparation to adjust the industrial and racial competition that Asia is bound to force upon the world. The most futile and dangerous policy is the present ostrich habit of ignoring the question.

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